THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

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OF

AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

BOOK VIII.

View of the policy and trade of the Spanish colonies.

AFTER tracing the progreſs of the Spaniards in their diſcoveries and conqueſts during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was eſtabliſhed over almoſt all the vaſt regions in the New World ſtill ſubject to their dominion. The effect of their ſettlements upon the countries of which they took poſſeſſion, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior ſtructure and policy of theſe, together with the influence of their progreſſive improvement upon the parent ſtate, and upon the commercial intercourſe of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention.

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Depopulation of America the firſt effect of them.

THE firſt viſible conſequence of the eſtabliſhments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally aſtoniſhing and deplorable. I have already, on different occaſions, mentioned the diſaſtrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemiſphere commenced, both in the iſlands, and in ſeveral parts of the continent, and have touched upon various cauſes of their rapid conſumption. Wherever the inhabitants of America had reſolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many periſhed in the unequal conteſt, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greateſt deſolation followed after the ſword was ſheathed, and the conquerors were ſettled in tranquillity. It was in the iſlands, and in thoſe provinces of the continent which ſtretch from the Gulf of Trinidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spaniſh dominion were firſt and moſt ſenſibly felt. All theſe were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by ſuch as had made but ſmall progreſs in cultivation and induſtry. When they were compelled by their new maſters to take up a fixed reſidence, and to apply to regular labour; when taſks were impoſed upon them diſproportioned to their ſtrength, and

Cauſes of this in the iſlands, and ſome parts of the continent.

were exacted with unrelenting ſeverity, they poſſeſſed not vigour either of mind or of body to ſuſtain this unuſual load of oppreſſion. Dejection and deſpair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine deſtroyed more. In all thoſe extenſive regions, the original race of inhabitants waſted away; in ſome it was totally extinguiſhed. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people diſtinguiſhed their oppoſition to the Spaniards by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, ſtill greater numbers periſhed under the hardſhips of attending the Spaniſh armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn out with the inceſſant toil of carrying their baggage, proviſions, and military ſtores.

In New Spain and Peru.

But neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards were ſo deſtructive to the people of Mexico and Peru, as the inconſiderate policy with which they eſtabliſhed their new ſettlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals; the latter was a permanent evil, which, with gradual conſumption, waſted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a diſtrict, from which he might expect an inſtan-

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taneous recompence for all his ſervices. Soldiers, accuſtomed to the careleſſneſs and diſſipation of a military life, had neither induſtry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its ſlow but certain returns. Inſtead of ſettling in the vallies occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the ſoil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they choſe to fix their ſtations in ſome of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To ſearch for mines of gold and ſilver, was the chief object of their activity. The proſpects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually preſents, correſpond wonderfully with the ſpirit of enterprize and adventure that animated the firſt emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to puſh forward thoſe favourite projects, ſo many hands were wanted, that the ſervice of the natives became indiſpenſably requiſite. They were accordingly compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This ſudden tranſition from the ſultry climate of the vallies to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; exorbitant labour, ſcanty or unwholeſome nouriſhment, and the deſpondency occaſioned by a ſpecies of oppreſſion to which they were not accuſtomed, and

and of which they saw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They sunk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity [a]. In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the small-pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives [b], the number of people both in New Spain and Peru was so much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible [c].

Not the result of any system of policy;

SUCH are the most considerable events and causes which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the suddenness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a system of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability, to occupy the vast regions which they had discovered, and foreseeing the impossibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themselves in number, in order to preserve the pos-

[a] Torquemada, i. 613.

[b] B. Diaz. c. 124. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 4. Ulloa Entreten. 206.

[c] Torquem. 615. 642, 643. See NOTE I.

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ſeſſion of America, reſolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and by converting a great part of the country into a deſert, endeavoured to ſecure their own dominion over it[a]. But nations ſeldom extend their views to objects ſo remote, or lay their plans ſo deep; and, for the honour of humanity we may obſerve, that no nation ever deliberately formed ſuch an execrable ſcheme. The Spaniſh monarchs, far from acting upon any ſuch ſyſtem of deſtruction, were uniformly ſolicitous for the preſervation of their new ſubjects. With Iſabella, zeal for propagating the Chriſtian faith, together with the deſire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the conſolations of religion, to people deſtitute of ſpiritual light, were more than oſtenſible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his diſcoveries. Upon his ſucceſs, ſhe endeavoured to fulfil her pious purpoſe, and manifeſted the moſt tender concern to ſecure not only religious inſtruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffenſive race of men ſubjected to her crown[c]. Her ſucceſſors adopted the ſame ideas; and, on many occaſions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interpoſed, in the moſt vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppreſſion of their

[a] See NOTE II. [c] See NOTE III.

Spaniſh

Spanish subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive, as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their settlements were confined to the islands alone. Their solicitude to protect the Indians seems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased; and from ardour to accomplish this, they enacted, and endeavoured to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the rest. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controlled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the seat of government, little accustomed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider and treat them as slaves. The governors

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themſelves, and other officers employed in the colonies, ſeveral of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they preſided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and inſtead of checking, encouraged or connived at their exceſſes. The deſolation of the New World ſhould not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be conſidered as the effect of any ſyſtem of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the indigent and often unprincipled adventurers, whoſe fortune it was to be the conquerors and firſt planters of America, who, by meaſures no leſs inconſiderate than unjuſt, counteracted the edicts of their ſovereign, and have brought diſgrace upon their country.

nor the effect of religion.

With ſtill greater injuſtice have many authors repreſented the intolerating ſpirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cauſe of exterminating the Americans, and have accuſed the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics of animating their countrymen to the ſlaughter of that innocent people, as idolators and enemies of God. But the firſt miſſionaries who viſited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early eſpouſed the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aſperſions

of

of their conquerors, who, deſcribing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a ſubordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had ſet the mark of ſervitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and perſevering zeal of the Spaniſh miſſionaries, in protecting the helpleſs flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects luſtre upon their function. They were miniſters of peace, who endeavoured to wreſt the rod from the hands of oppreſſors. To their powerful interpoſition the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigour of their fate. The clergy in the Spaniſh ſettlements, regular as well as ſecular, are ſtill conſidered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourſe under the hardſhips and exactions to which they are too often expoſed[f]. BOOK VIII.

The number of the Indians ſtill remaining.

But, notwithſtanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very conſiderable number of the native race ſtill remains both in Mexico and Peru, eſpecially in thoſe parts which were not expoſed to the firſt fury of the Spaniſh arms, or deſolated by the firſt efforts of their induſtry,

[f] See NOTE IV.

ſtill

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ſtill more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire, which ſtretch along the South Sea, the race of Indians is ſtill numerous. Their ſettlements in ſome places are ſo populous, as to merit the name of cities[g]. In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at leaſt two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but ſuch as ſtill forms a body of people ſuperior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this extenſive country[h]. In Peru ſeveral diſtricts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almoſt entirely by Indians. In other provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and in many of their ſettlements are almoſt the only perſons who practiſe the mechanic arts, and fill moſt of the inferior ſtations in ſociety. As the inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru were accuſtomed to a fixed reſidence, and to a certain degree of regular induſtry, leſs violence was requiſite in bringing them to ſome conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards ſettled among the ſavage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitleſs, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of reſtraint,

[g] See NOTE V.

[h] See NOTE VI.

and

and diſdaining labour as a mark of ſervility, they either abandoned their original ſeats, and ſought for independence in mountains and foreſts inacceſſible to their oppreſſors, or periſhed when reduced to a ſtate repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the diſtricts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos-Ayres, the deſolation is more general than even in thoſe parts of Mexico and Peru, of which the Spaniards have taken moſt full poſſeſſion.

General ideas of the policy of Spain in its colonies.

But the eſtabliſhments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to beſt advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful ſtate, equal to ſo great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogative far beyond the limits which once circumſcribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly ſubject to controul, either in concerting or in executing their meaſures. In every wide extended empire, the form of government muſt be ſimple, and the ſovereign authority ſuch, that its reſolutions may be taken with promptitude, and may pervade the whole with ſufficient force. Such was the power of the Spaniſh monarchs, when they were

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were called to deliberate concerning the mode of eſtabliſhing their dominion over the moſt remote provinces which had ever been ſubjected to any European ſtate. In this deliberation, they felt themſelves under no conſtitutional reſtraint, and that, as independent maſters of their own reſolves, they might iſſue the edicts requiſite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

Early interpoſition of the regal authority.

THIS early interpoſition of the Spaniſh crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhes their progreſs from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and French took poſſeſſion of the regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which theſe promiſed to yield were ſo remote and uncertain, that their colonies were ſuffered to ſtruggle through a hard infancy, almoſt without guidance or protection from the parent ſtate. But gold and ſilver, the firſt productions of the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the diſcovery, and almoſt nothing to the conqueſt of the New World, they inſtantly aſſumed the function of

of its legiſlators; and having acquired a ſpecies of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exerciſing it, to which nothing ſimilar occurs in the hiſtory of human affairs. BOOK VIII.

All power and property veſted in the crown.

THE fundamental maxim of Spaniſh juriſprudence, with reſpect to America, is to conſider what has been acquired there as veſted in the crown, rather than in the ſtate. By the bull of Alexander VI., on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been, or ſhould be diſcovered, were beſtowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Iſabella. They and their ſucceſſors were uniformly held to be the univerſal proprietors of the vaſt territories, which the arms of their ſubjects conquered in the New World. From them all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who preſided over the different colonies, the officers of juſtice, and the miniſters of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removable at their pleaſure. The people who compoſed infant ſettlements were entitled to no privileges independent of the ſovereign, or that ſerved as a barrier againſt the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect their

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their own magiſtrates, who governed them by laws which the community enacted. Even in the moſt deſpotic ſtates, this feeble ſpark of liberty is not extinguiſhed. But in the cities of Spaniſh America, this juriſdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general intereſt, the will of the ſovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

All the new dominions of Spain ſubjected to two vice-roys.

WHEN the conqueſts of the Spaniards in America were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of internal policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immenſe governments, one ſubject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The juriſdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern diviſion of the American continent. Under that of the latter, was comprehended whatever ſhe poſſeſſed in South America. This arrangement, which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniencies, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each vice-royalty began to improve in induſtry and population. The people complained of their ſubjection to a ſu-

perior, whoſe place of reſidence was ſo diſtant, or ſo inacceſſible, as almoſt excluded them from any intercourſe with the ſeat of government. The authority of the viceroy over diſtricts ſo far removed from his own eye and obſervation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill directed. As a remedy for thoſe evils, a third vice-royalty has been eſtabliſhed in the preſent century, at Santo Fé de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the juriſdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firmè and the province of Quito[1]. Thoſe viceroys not only repreſent the perſon of their ſovereign, but poſſeſs his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments, in their utmoſt extent. Like him, they exerciſe ſupreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. They have the ſole right of nominating the perſons who hold many offices of the higheſt importance, and the occaſional privilege of ſupplying thoſe which, when they become vacant by death, are in the royal gift, until the ſucceſſor appointed by the King ſhall arrive. The external pomp of their government is ſuited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horſe and foot guards,

BOOK VIII.

Their powers.

[1] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 23. 255.

a houſe-

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a houſehold regularly eſtabliſhed, numerous attendants, and enſigns of command, diſplaying ſuch magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority[k].

Courts of Audience.

But as the viceroys cannot diſcharge in perſon the functions of a ſupreme magiſtrate in every part of their extenſive juriſdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals ſimilar to thoſe in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and diſtricts, into which the Spaniſh dominions in America are divided, is committed to magiſtrates of various orders and denominations; ſome appointed by the King, others by the viceroy, but all ſubject to the command of the latter, and amenable to his juriſdiction. The adminiſtration of juſtice is veſted in tribunals, known by the name of *Audiences*, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. Theſe are eleven in number, and diſpenſe juſtice to as many diſtricts, into which the Spaniſh dominions in America are divided[l]. The number of judges in the court of Audience is various, according to the extent and importance of their juriſdiction. The ſtation is no leſs honourable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by perſons

[k] Ulloa, Voy. i. 432. Gage 61. [l] See NOTE VII.

of ſuch abilities and merit as renders this tribunal extremely reſpectable. Both civil and criminal cauſes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are ſet apart. Though it is only in the moſt deſpotic governments, that the ſovereign exerciſes in perſon the formidable prerogative of adminiſtering juſtice to his ſubjects, and in abſolving, or condemning, conſults no law but what is depoſited in his own breaſt; though in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to magiſtrates, whoſe deciſions are regulated by known laws and eſtabliſhed forms, the Spaniſh viceroys have often attempted to intrude themſelves into the ſeat of juſtice, and with an ambition which their diſtance from the controul of a ſuperior rendered bold, have aſpired at a power which their maſter does not venture to aſſume. In order to check an uſurpation which muſt have annihilated juſtice and ſecurity in the Spaniſh colonies, by ſubjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a ſingle man, the viceroys have been prohibited, in the moſt explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice with reſpect to any point litigated before them[m]. In ſome parti- BOOK VIII.

Their juriſdiction.

[m] Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 35. 38. 44. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 36, 37.

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cular caſes, in which any queſtion of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the Court of Audience, which, in thoſe inſtances, may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a conſtitutional barrier to circumſcribe his juriſdiction. But as legal reſtraints on a perſon who repreſents the ſovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little ſuited to the genius of Spaniſh policy; the heſitation and reſerve with which it confers this power on the Courts of Audience are remarkable. They may adviſe, they may remonſtrate; but, in the event of a direct colliſion between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines muſt be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the King and the Council of the Indies[a]. But to be entitled to remonſtrate, and inform againſt a perſon, before whom all others muſt be ſilent, and tamely ſubmit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the Courts of Audience. This is farther augmented by another circumſtance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any proviſion of a ſucceſſor by the King, the ſupreme power is veſted in the

[a] Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. c. 3. n. 40, 41. Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 36. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 34. lib. v. tit. ix. l. 1.

Court

Court of Audience resident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the senior judge, assisted by his brethren, exercises all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant[o]. In matters which come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction, as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than six thousand pesos; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions are subject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal Council of the Indies[p]. BOOK VIII.

In this council, one of the most considerable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It was first established by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its jurisdiction extends to every department, ecclesiastical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by two-thirds of the members, Council of the Indies. Its power.

[o] Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 57, &c.
[p] Recop. lib. v. tit. xiii. l. 1, &c.

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before they are iſſued in the name of the King. All the offices, of which the nomination is reſerved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each perſon employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their ſervices, and inflicts the puniſhments due to their malverſations[q]. Before it is laid whatever intelligence, either public or ſecret, is received from America; and every ſcheme of improving the adminiſtration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is ſubmitted to its conſideration. From the firſt inſtitution of the Council of the Indies, it has been the conſtant object of the catholic monarchs to maintain its authority, and to make ſuch additions from time to time, both to its power and its ſplendour, as might render it formidable to all their ſubjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue ſtill remains in that country, where ſo many circumſtances conſpire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be aſcribed in a great meaſure to the wiſe regulations and vigilant inſpection of this reſpectable tribunal[r].

[q] Recop. lib. ii. tit. ii. l. 1, 2, &c.
[r] Solerz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. l. 12.

As

As the King is ſuppoſed to be always preſent in his Council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he reſides. Another tribunal has been inſtituted, in order to regulate ſuch commercial affairs as required the immediate and perſonal inſpection of thoſe appointed to ſuperintend them. This is called *Caſa de la Contratacion*, or the houſe of trade, and was eſtabliſhed in Seville, the port to which commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. It may be conſidered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity, it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourſe of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities ſhould be exported thither, and has the inſpection of ſuch as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the Weſt Indies, the freight and burthen of the ſhips, their equipment and deſtination. In the latter capacity, it judges with reſpect to every queſtion, civil, commercial, or criminal, ariſing in conſequence of the tranſactions of Spain with America, and in both theſe departments its deciſions are exempted from the review of any court but that of the Council of the Indies[s].

Caſa de Contratacion.

Its functions.

[s] Recop. lib. ix. tit. i. Veitia Norte de la Contratacion, lib. i. 1.

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SUCH is the great outline of that ſyſtem of government, which Spain has eſtabliſhed in her American colonies. To enumerate the various ſubordinate boards and officers employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country; to deſcribe their different functions, and to inquire into the mode and effect of their operations; would prove a detail no leſs intricate than minute and unintereſting.

Firſt object, to ſecure an excluſive trade.

THE firſt object of the Spaniſh monarchs was to ſecure the productions of the colonies to the parent ſtate, by an abſolute prohibition of any intercourſe with foreign nations. They took poſſeſſion of America by right of conqueſt, and conſcious not only of the feebleneſs of their infant ſettlements, but aware of the difficulty in eſtabliſhing their dominion over regions ſo extenſive, or in retaining ſo many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intruſion of ſtrangers; they even ſhunned their inſpection, and endeavoured to keep them at a diſtance from their coaſts. This ſpirit of jealouſy and excluſion, which at firſt was natural, and perhaps neceſſary, augmented as their poſſeſſions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully underſtood. In conſequence of it.

it, a ſyſtem of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing ſimilar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to ſend forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which ſerved to diſburden a ſtate of its ſuperfluous ſubjects, when they multiplied too faſt for the territory which they occupied; or they were military detachments, ſtationed as garriſons, in a conquered province. The colonies of ſome Greek republics, and the ſwarms of northern barbarians which ſettled in different parts of Europe, were of the firſt ſpecies. The Roman colonies were of the ſecond. In the former, the connection with the mother-country quickly ceaſed, and they became independent ſtates. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American ſettlements, the Spaniſh monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and ſtudied to unite them. By ſending colonies to regions ſo remote, by eſtabliſhing in each a form of interior policy and adminiſtration, under diſtinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother-country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legiſlation, as well as that of impoſing taxes, together with the power of nominating the perſons who filled every depart-

Regulations for that purpoſe.

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ment of executive government, civil or military, they secured their dependence upon the parent state. Happily for Spain, the situation of her colonies was such, as rendered it possible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almost all the countries which she had discovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of the globe are different from those of Europe, even in its most southern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the soil naturally turn the industry of such as settle there into new channels. When the Spaniards first took possession of their dominions in America, the precious metals which they yielded were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing such peculiar productions of the climate, as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by vast prospects of immediate wealth, they disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. In order to render it impossible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts in industry which might interfere with those of the mother-country, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine, or olive, are prohibited

in the Spaniſh colonies[t], under ſevere penalties[u]. They muſt truſt entirely to the mother-country for the objects of primary neceſſity. Their clothes, their furniture, their inſtruments of labour, their luxuries, and even a conſiderable part of the proviſions which they conſume, were imported from Spain. During a great part of the ſixteenth century, Spain, poſſeſſing an extenſive commerce and flouriſhing manufactures, could ſupply with eaſe the growing demands of her colonies, from her own ſtores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for theſe. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spaniſh bottoms. No veſſel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourſe of one colony with another was either abſolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous reſtrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it conſumes muſt iſſue from them. No foreigner can enter its colonies without expreſs permiſſion; no veſſel of any foreign nation is received into their harbours; and the pains of death, with confiſcation of moveables, are

[t] See NOTE VIII.

[u] B. Ulloa Retab. des Manuf. &c. p. 206.

denounced

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denounced againſt every inhabitant who preſumes to trade with them[w]. Thus the colonies are kept in a ſtate of perpetual pupillage; and by the introduction of this commercial dependence, a refinement in policy of which Spain ſet the firſt example to European nations, the ſupremacy of the parent ſtate hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Slow progreſs of population from Europe.

SUCH are the capital maxims to which the Spaniſh monarchs ſeem to have attended in forming their new ſettlements in America. But they could not plant with the ſame rapidity that they had deſtroyed; and from many concurring cauſes, their progreſs has been extremely ſlow, in filling up the immenſe void which their devaſtations had occaſioned. As ſoon as the rage for diſcovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and diſtreſſes, which at firſt they did not perceive, or had deſpiſed. The numerous hardſhips with which the members of infant colonies have to ſtruggle, the diſeaſes of unwholeſome climates, fatal to the conſtitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country, covered with foreſts into culture; the want of hands neceſ-

[w] Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvii. l. i. 4. 7, &c.

ſary for labour in ſome provinces, and the ſlow reward of induſtry in all, unleſs where the accidental diſcovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils univerſally felt and magnified. Diſcouraged by the view of theſe, the ſpirit of migration was ſo much damped, that ſixty years after the diſcovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thouſand[x].

Diſcouraged by the ſtate of property.

THE mode in which property was diſtributed in the Spaniſh colonies, and the regulations eſtabliſhed with reſpect to the tranſmiſſion of it, whether by deſcent or by ſale, were extremely unfavourable to population. In order to promote a rapid increaſe of people in any new ſettlement, property in land ought to be divided into ſmall ſhares, and the alienation of it ſhould be rendered extremely eaſy[y]. But the rapaciouſneſs of the Spaniſh conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they poſſeſſed power, which enabled them to gratify the utmoſt extravagance of their wiſhes, many ſeized diſtricts of great extent, and held them as *encomiendas*. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of

[x] See NOTE IX. [y] Dr. Smith's Inquiry, ii. 166.

theſe

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theſe into *Mayoraſgos*, a ſpecies of fief, introduced into the Spaniſh ſyſtem of feudal juriſprudence[z], which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and deſcends from father to ſon unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by ſome of the conquerors[a]. The exceſſes in other provinces were ſimilar, for as the value of the lands which the Spaniards acquired was originally eſtimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general ſo thinly peopled, that only diſtricts of great extent could afford ſuch a number of labourers as might be employed in the mines with any proſpect of conſiderable gain. The pernicious effects of thoſe radical errors in the diſtribution and nature of property in the Spaniſh ſettlements, are felt through every department of induſtry, and may be conſidered as one great cauſe of a progreſs in population ſo much ſlower than that which has taken place in better conſtituted colonies[b].

[z] Recop. lib. iv. tit. iii. l. 24.
[a] Book vi.
[b] See NOTE X.

To

and the nature of their ecclesiastical policy.

To this we may add, that the support of the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment, has been a burden on the Spanish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on industry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, instead of any restraint on the claims of ecclesiastics, the inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no slight degree oppressive to society, even in its most improved state. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tithes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law. Every article of primary necessity, towards which the attention of new settlers must naturally be turned, is subjected to that grievous exaction[c]. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of simple and easy culture. Its more artificial and operose productions, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal, were soon declared to be tithable[d]; and thus the industry of the planter was taxed in every stage of its

[c] Recop. lib.i. tit. xiv. l. 2.
[d] Recop. lib.i. tit.xiv. l.3 and 4.

progress,

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progreſs, from its rudeſt eſſay to its higheſt improvement. To the weight of this legal impoſition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from ſuperſtitious reverence for eccleſiaſtics of every denomination, they have beſtowed profuſe donatives on churches and monaſteries, and have unprofitably waſted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have nouriſhed and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies.

Various orders of people in the colonies.

But ſo fertile and inviting are the regions of America, which the Spaniards have occupied, that, notwithſtanding all the circumſtances which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increaſed, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among theſe, the Spaniards, who arrive from Europe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Chapetones*, are the firſt in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spaniſh court to ſecure the dependence of the colonies on the parent ſtate, all departments of conſequence are filled by perſons ſent from Europe; and, in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each muſt bring proof of a clear deſcent from a family of *Old Chriſtians*,

Chapetones the firſt.

Chriſtians, untainted with any mixture of Jewiſh or Mahometan blood, and never diſgraced by any cenſure of the inquiſition[e]. In ſuch pure hands, power is deemed to be ſafely lodged, and almoſt every public function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every perſon who by his birth, or reſidence in America, may be ſuſpected of any attachment or intereſt adverſe to the mother-country, is the object of diſtruſt to ſuch a degree, as amounts nearly to an excluſion from all offices of confidence or authority[f]. By this conſpicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raiſed to ſuch preeminence in America, that they look down with diſdain on every other order of men. BOOK VIII.

THE character and ſtate of the *Creoles*, or deſcendants of Europeans ſettled in America, the ſecond claſs of ſubjects in the Spaniſh colonies, have enabled the Chapetones to acquire other advantages, hardly leſs conſiderable than thoſe which they derive from the partial favour of government. Though ſome of the Creolian race are deſcended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the nobleſt families in Spain; though many are poſſeſſed Creoles the ſecond.

[e] Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvi. l. 15, 16.
[f] See NOTE XI.

of

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of ample fortunes, yet, by the enervating influence of a ſultry climate, by the rigour of a jealous government, and by their deſpair of attaining that diſtinction to which mankind naturally aſpire, the vigour of their minds is ſo entirely broken, that a great part of them waſte life in luxurious indulgencies, mingled with an illiberal ſuperſtition ſtill more debaſing. Languid, and unenterpriſing, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them ſo cumberſome and oppreſſive, that in almoſt every part of America, they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as any trade which is permitted with the neighbouring provinces, and with Spain itſelf, are carried on chiefly by the Chapetones[g]; who, as the recompence of their induſtry, amaſs immenſe wealth, while the Creoles, ſunk in ſloth, are ſatisfied with the revenues of their paternal eſtates.

Rivalſhip between theſe.

FROM this ſtated competition for power and wealth between thoſe two orders of citizens, and the various paſſions excited by a rivalſhip ſo intereſting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occaſion, ſymptoms of this averſion break out, and the common appellations which

[g] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 27. 251. Voy. de Frezier, 227.

each

each beſtows on the other are as contemptuous as thoſe which flow from the moſt deep-rooted national antipathy[h]. The court of Spain, from a refinement of diſtruſtful policy, cheriſhes thoſe ſeeds of diſcord, and foments this mutual jealouſy, which not only prevents the two moſt powerful claſſes of its ſubjects in the New World from combining againſt the parent ſtate, but prompts each, with the moſt vigilant zeal, to obſerve the motions and to counteract the ſchemes of the other. BOOK VIII.

A mixed race forms the third order of citizens.

THE third claſs of inhabitants in the Spaniſh colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of an European and a Negro, or of an European and Indian, the former called *Mulattoes*, the latter *Meſtizos*. As the court of Spain, ſolicitous to incorporate its new vaſſals with its ancient ſubjects, early encouraged the Spaniards ſettled in America to marry the natives of that country, ſeveral alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies[i]. But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their ſovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied ſo greatly, as to conſtitute a conſiderable part of the population in

[h] Gage's Survey, p. 9. Frezier, 226.

[i] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. 1. l. 2. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. v. c. 12. dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

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all the Spaniſh ſettlements. The ſeveral ſtages of deſcent in this race, and the gradual variations of ſhade until the African black or the copper colour of America brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar name. Thoſe of the firſt and ſecond generations are conſidered and treated as mere Indians and Negroes; but in the third deſcent, the characteriſtic hue of the former diſappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is ſo entirely effaced, that they can no longer be diſtinguiſhed from Europeans, and become entitled to all their privileges[k]. It is chiefly by this mixed race, whoſe frame is remarkably robuſt and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on in the Spaniſh ſettlements, and other active functions in ſociety are diſcharged, which the two higher claſſes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, diſdain to exerciſe[l].

Negroes form the fourth order.

THE negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spaniſh colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human ſpecies into America, together with their ſervices and ſufferings there, ſhall be fully

[k] Voy. de Ulloa, i. p. 27.

[l] Ibid. i. 29. Voy. de Bouguer, p. 104. Melendez, Teſoros Verdaderos, i. 354.

explained

explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly in order to point out a peculiarity in their ſituation under the Spaniſh dominion. In ſeveral of their ſettlements, particularly in New Spain, negroes are moſtly employed in domeſtic ſervice. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cheriſhed and careſſed by their ſuperiors, to whoſe vanity and pleaſures they are equally ſubſervient. Their dreſs and appearance are hardly leſs ſplendid than that of their maſters, whoſe manners they imitate, and whoſe paſſions they imbibe[m]. Elevated by this diſtinction, they have aſſumed ſuch a tone of ſuperiority over the Indians, and treat them with ſuch inſolence and ſcorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where negroes ſeem to be more numerous, and are employed in field-work as well as domeſtic ſervice, they maintain their aſcendant over the Indians, and the mutual hatred of one to the other ſubſiſts with equal violence. The laws have induſtriouſly fomented this averſion, to which accident gave riſe, and, by moſt rigorous injunctions, have endeavoured to prevent every intercourſe that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive ſtrength

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[m] Gage, p. 56. Voy. de Ulloa, i. 451.

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from that circumſtance in population which is the weakneſs of other European colonies, and have ſecured, as aſſociates and defenders, thoſe very perſons who elſewhere are objects of jealouſy and terror[n].

The Indians form the laſt order of citizens.

THE Indians form the laſt and the moſt depreſſed order of men in the country, which belonged to their anceſtors. I have already traced the progreſs of the Spaniſh ideas with reſpect to the condition and treatment of that people; and have mentioned the moſt important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of ſo much conſequence in the adminiſtration of their new dominions. But ſince the period to which I have brought down the hiſtory of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries have enabled the court of Spain to make ſuch improvements in this part of its American ſyſtem, that a ſhort view of the preſent condition of the Indians may prove both curious and intereſting.

Their preſent condition.

BY the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been ſo often mentioned, the

[n] Recopil. lib. vii. tit. v. l. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. vii. c. 12. Frezier, 244.

high

high pretenſions of the conquerors of the New World, who conſidered its inhabitants as ſlaves to whoſe ſervice they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and entitled to the privileges of ſubjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed juſt that they ſhould contribute towards the ſupport and improvement of the ſociety which had adopted them as members. But as no conſiderable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men unacquainted with regular induſtry, and averſe to labour, the court of Spain found it neceſſary to fix and ſecure, by proper regulations, what it thought reaſonable to exact from them. With this view, an annual tax was impoſed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and at the ſame time the nature as well as the extent of the ſervices which they might be required to perform, were aſcertained with preciſion. This tribute varies in different provinces; but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four ſhillings a head; no exorbitant ſum in countries where, as at the ſource of wealth, the value of money is extremely low[o]. The

Tax impoſed on them.

[o] See NOTE XII. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 42. Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 461.

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right of levying this tribute likewiſe varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vaſſal of the crown, or depends upon ſome ſubject to whom the diſtrict in which he reſides has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an *encomienda*. In the former caſe, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treaſury; in the latter, the ſame proportion of it belongs to the holder[p] of the grant. When Spain firſt took poſſeſſion of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or thoſe who firſt ſettled there, and but a ſmall portion reſerved for the crown. As thoſe grants, which were made for two lives only[p], reverted ſucceſſively to the ſovereign, he had it in his power either to diffuſe his favours by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexations[q]. Of theſe, the latter has been frequently choſen; the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown is much greater than in the firſt ſtage after the conqueſt, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The ſervices demanded.

THE benefit ariſing from the ſervices of the Indians, accrues either to the crown, or to the

[p] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. viii. l. 48. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, lib. ii. c. 16.

[q] See NOTE XIII.

holder

holder of the *encomienda*, according to the ſame rule obſerved in the payment of tribute. Thoſe ſervices, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the taſks originally impoſed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they muſt perform is defined, and an equitable recompence is granted for their labour. The ſtated ſervices demanded of the Indians may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary neceſſity, without which ſociety cannot ſubſiſt comfortably, or are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spaniſh colonies derive their chief value and importance. In conſequence of the former, they are obliged to aſſiſt in the culture of maize, and other grain of neceſſary conſumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming high roads[r]; but they cannot be conſtrained to labour in raiſing vines, olives, and ſugar-canes, or any ſpecies of cultivation, which has for its object the gratification of luxury, or commercial profit[s]. In conſequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleaſant taſk of extracting

[r] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 19. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. i. c. 6, 7. 9.

[s] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 8. Solorz. lib. i. c. 7. N° 41, &c.

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ore from the bowels of the earth, and of refining it by ſucceſſive proceſſes, no leſs unwholeſome than operoſe[t].

The mode of exacting theſe.

THE mode of exacting both theſe ſervices is the ſame, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppreſſive as poſſible to the Indians. They are called out ſucceſſively in diviſions, termed *Mitas*, and no perſon can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out muſt not exceed the ſeventh part of the inhabitants in any diſtrict[u]. In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred[w]. During what time the labour of ſuch Indians as are employed in agriculture continues, I have not been able to learn[x]. But in Peru, each *mita*, or diviſion, deſtined for the mines, remains there ſix months; and while engaged in this ſervice, a labourer never receives leſs than two ſhillings a day, and often earns more than double that ſum[y]. No Indian, reſiding at a greater diſtance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the mita, or diviſion employed in working it[z]; nor are the inhabitants of the low

[t] See NOTE XIV.
[u] Recop. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 21.
[w] Recopil. lib. vi. l. 22.
[x] See NOTE XV.
[y] Ulloa Entreten. 265, 266.
[z] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 3.

country

country expoſed now to certain deſtruction, as they were at firſt, when under the dominion of the conquerors, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound[a]. BOOK VIII.

How governed.

THE Indians who live in the principal towns are entirely ſubject to the Spaniſh laws and magiſtrates; but in their own villages they are governed by caziques, ſome of whom are the deſcendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spaniſh viceroys. Theſe regulate the petty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of juſtice tranſmitted to them by tradition from their anceſtors. To the Indians this juriſdiction, lodged in ſuch friendly hands, affords ſome conſolation; and ſo little formidable is this dignity to their new maſters, that they often allow it to deſcend by hereditary right[b]. For the farther relief of men ſo much expoſed to oppreſſion, the Spaniſh court has appointed an officer in every diſtrict, with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to aſſert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the

[a] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 29. and tit. i. l. 13. See NOTE XVI.

[b] Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. i. c. 26. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vii.

courts

BOOK VIII. courts of juſtice; and, by the interpoſition of his authority, to ſet bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen[c]. A certain portion of the reſerved fourth of the annual tribute is deſtined for the ſalary of the caziques and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the inſtruction of the Indians[d]. Another part ſeems to be appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themſelves, and is applied for the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular diſtrict is affected by any extraordinary local calamity[e]. Beſides this, proviſion is made by various laws, that hoſpitals ſhall be founded in every new ſettlement for the reception of Indians[f]. Such hoſpitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm, in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderneſs and humanity[g].

Such are the leading principles in the juriſprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in the provinces belonging to

[c] Solorz. lib. i. c. 17. p. 201. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vi.
[d] Recop. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 30. tit. xvi. l. 12—15.
[e] Ibid. lib. vi. tit. iv. l. 13.
[f] Ibid. lib. i. tit. iv. l. i. &c.
[g] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 429. 509. Churchill, iv. 496.

Spain.

Spain. In thoſe regulations of the Spaniſh monarchs, we diſcover no traces of that cruel ſyſtem of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit that the neceſſity of ſecuring ſubſiſtence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themſelves of the labour of the Indians, we muſt allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompence that labour, is provident and ſagacious. In no code of laws is greater ſolicitude diſplayed, or precautions multiplied with more prudent concern for the preſervation, the ſecurity, and the happineſs of the ſubject, than we diſcover in the collection of the Spaniſh laws for the Indies. But thoſe latter regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies againſt the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the ſame cauſes continue to operate, the ſame effects muſt follow. From the immenſe diſtance between the power entruſted with the execution of laws, and that by whoſe authority they are enacted, the vigour even of the moſt abſolute government muſt relax, and the dread of a ſuperior, too remote to obſerve with accuracy, or to puniſh with diſpatch, muſt inſenſibly abate. Notwithſtanding the numerous in- BOOK VIII.

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junctions of the Spaniſh monarch, the Indians ſtill ſuffer on many occaſions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magiſtrates, who ought to have protected them; unreaſonable taſks are impoſed; the term of their labour is prolonged beyond the period fixed by law, and they groan under many of the inſults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people [h]. From ſome information on which I can depend, ſuch oppreſſion abounds more in Peru than in any other colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts, even of thoſe authors who are moſt diſpoſed to exaggerate the ſufferings of the Indians, they, in ſeveral provinces, enjoy not only eaſe, but affluence; they poſſeſs large farms; they are maſters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and induſtry, are ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with many luxuries of life [i].

Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the colonies.

AFTER explaining the form of civil government in the Spaniſh colonies, and the ſtate of the various orders of perſons ſubject to it, the peculiarities in their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution merit conſideration. Notwithſtanding the

[h] See NOTE XVII.

[i] Gage's Survey, p. 85. 90. 104. 119, &c.

ſuper-

ſuperſtitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions againſt the introduction of the papal dominion into America. With this view he ſolicited Alexander VI. for a grant to the crown of the tithes in all the newly-diſcovered countries[k], which he obtained on condition of his making proviſion for the religious inſtruction of the natives. Soon after Julius II. conferred on him, and his ſucceſſors, the right of patronage, and the abſolute diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical benefices there[l]. But theſe Pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, beſtowed thoſe donations with an inconſiderate liberality, which their ſucceſſors have often lamented, and wiſhed to recall. In conſequence of thoſe grants, the Spaniſh monarchs have become in effect the heads of the American church. In them the adminiſtration of its revenues is veſted. Their nomination of perſons to ſupply vacant benefices is inſtantly confirmed by the Pope. Thus, in all Spaniſh America, authority of every ſpecies centers in the crown. There no colliſion is known

Reſtraints on the papal juriſdiction.

[k] Bulla Alex. VI. A.D. 1501, ap. Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. p. 498.

[l] Bulla Julii, ii. 1508, ap. Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. 509.

between

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between ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction. The King is the only ſuperior, his name alone is heard of, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there, until they have been previouſly examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies[m]; and if any bull ſhould be ſurreptitiouſly introduced, and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, eccleſiaſtics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to ſeize all the copies of it, and tranſmit them to the council of the Indies[n]. To this limitation of the papal juriſdiction, equally ſingular, whether we conſider the age and nation in which it was deviſed, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand and his ſucceſſors have ſtudied to maintain it in full force[o], Spain is indebted in a great meaſure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

Form and endowments of the church in the Spaniſh colonies.

THE hierarchy is eſtabliſhed in America in the ſame form as in Spain, with its full train of archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and other

[m] Recopil. lib. i. tit. ix. l. 2. and Autas del Conſejo de las Indias, clxi.

[n] Recop. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55.

[o] Ibid. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55. paſſim.

dignitaries.

dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three claſſes, under the denomination of *Curas*, *Doctrineros*, and *Miſſioneros*. The firſt are pariſh prieſts in thoſe parts of the country where the Spaniards have ſettled. The ſecond have the charge of ſuch diſtricts as are inhabited by Indians ſubjected to the Spaniſh government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in inſtructing and converting thoſe fiercer tribes, which diſdain ſubmiſſion to the Spaniſh yoke, and live in remote or inacceſſible regions, to which the Spaniſh arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the eccleſiaſtics of all thoſe various orders, and ſuch the profuſe liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immenſe. The Romiſh ſuperſtition appears with its utmoſt pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent, and richly adorned; and on high feſtivals, the diſplay of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, is ſuch as exceeds the conception of an European [p]. An eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment ſo ſplendid and extenſive, is unfavourable, as has been formerly obſerved, to the progreſs of riſing colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are ſo delighted with parade, that religion muſt aſſume it, in

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[p] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 430.

order

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order to attract their veneration, this propensity to oſtentation has been indulged, and becomes leſs pernicious.

Pernicious effects of monaſtic inſtitutions.

THE early inſtitution of monaſteries in the Spaniſh colonies, and the inconſiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with conſequences more fatal. In every new ſettlement, the firſt object ſhould be to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the number and ſtrength of the community. During the youth and vigour of ſociety, while there is room to ſpread, and ſuſtenance is procured with facility, mankind increaſe with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken poſſeſſion of America, when, with a moſt prepoſterous policy, they began to erect convents, where perſons of both ſexes were ſhut up, under a vow to defeat the purpoſe of nature, and to counteract the firſt of her laws. Influenced by a miſguided piety, which aſcribes tranſcendant merit to a ſtate of celibacy, or allured by the proſpect of that liſtleſs eaſe, which, in ſultry climates, is deemed ſupreme felicity, numbers crowded into thoſe manſions of ſloth and ſuperſtition, and are loſt to ſociety. As none but perſons of Spaniſh extract are admitted into the monaſteries of the New World, the evil is more ſenſibly felt, and

every monk or nun may be conſidered as an active perſon withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of ſuch foundations in any ſituation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is ſo obvious, that ſome catholic ſtates have expreſsly prohibited any perſon in their colonies from taking the monaſtic vows [q]. Even the Spaniſh monarchs, on ſome occaſions, ſeem to have been alarmed with the ſpreading of a ſpirit ſo adverſe to the increaſe and proſperity of their colonies, that they have endeavoured to check it [r]. But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of ſuperſtition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by eccleſiaſtics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived ſuch an high opinion of monaſtic ſanctity, that no regulations can reſtrain their zeal; and by the exceſs of their ill-judged bounty, religious houſes have multiplied to a degree no leſs amazing than pernicious to ſociety [s].

Character of eccleſiaſtics in Spaniſh America;

In viewing the ſtate of colonies, where not only the number but influence of eccleſiaſtics is ſo great, the character of this powerful body

[q] Voy. de Ulloa, ii. 124.

[r] Herrera, dec. v. lib. ix. c. 1, 2. Recop. lib. i. tit. iii. l. 1, 2. tit. iv. c. ii. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23.

[s] See NOTE XVIII.

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is an object that merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As persons long accustomed, by their education, to the retirement and indolence of academic life, are more incapable of active enterprize, and less disposed to strike into new paths, than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such, as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own country. Accordingly, the secular priests in the New World are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain for literary accomplishments of any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy the ease and independence which are favourable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations. But the greatest part of the ecclesiastics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately sent forth missionaries to labour in it. The first attempt

of the secular;

of the regulars.

to

to inſtruct and convert the Americans was made by monks; and, as ſoon as the conqueſt of any province was completed, and its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment began to aſſume ſome form, the Popes permitted the miſſionaries of the four mendicant orders, as a reward for their ſervices, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all ſpiritual functions, and to receive the tithes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the dioceſe, or being ſubject to his cenſures. In conſequence of this, a new career of uſefulneſs, as well as new objects of ambition, preſented themſelves. Whenever a call is made for a freſh ſupply of miſſionaries, men of the moſt ardent and aſpiring minds, impatient under the reſtraint of a cloiſter, weary of its inſipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irkſome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their ſervice with eagerneſs, and repair to the New World in queſt of liberty and diſtinction. Nor do they purſue diſtinction without ſucceſs. The higheſt eccleſiaſtical honours, as well as the moſt lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monaſtic orders that the Americans are indebted for any portion of ſcience which is cultivated among them. They are almoſt the only Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, from whom we have

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received any accounts, either of the civil or natural history of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible superstition of their profession, have published books which give a favourable idea of their abilities. The natural and moral history of the New World, by the Jesuit Acosta, contains more accurate observations, perhaps, and more sound science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in the sixteenth century.

Dissolute manners of some of them.

But the same disgust with monastic life, to which America is indebted for some instructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, consider a mission to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they soon obtain some parochial charge; and far removed, by their situation, from the inspection of their monastic superiors, and exempt, by their character, from the jurisdiction of their diocesan [u], they are hardly subject to any control. According to the testimony of the most zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spanish settlements

[u] Avendano Thes. Indic. ii. 253.

are

are not only deſtitute of the virtues becoming their profeſſion, but regardleſs of that external decorum and reſpect for the opinion of mankind, which preſerve a ſemblance of worth where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, ſome regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce, and are ſo rapaciouſly eager in amaſſing wealth, that they become the moſt grievous oppreſſors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others with no leſs flagrant violation of their vow of chaſtity, indulge with little diſguiſe in the moſt diſſolute licentiouſneſs [x].

Various ſchemes have been propoſed for redreſſing enormities ſo manifeſt and ſo offenſive. Several perſons, no leſs eminent for piety than diſcernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloiſters, and ſhould no longer be permitted to encroach on the functions of the ſecular clergy. Some public-ſpirited magiſtrates, from conviction of its being neceſſary to deprive the regulars of a privilege beſtowed at firſt with good intention, but of which time and experience had diſcovered the pernicious

[x] See NOTE XIX.

BOOK VIII. 1618. effects, openly countenanced the ſecular clergy in their attempts to aſſert their own rights. The Prince D'Eſquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip III. took meaſures ſo deciſive and effectual for circumſcribing the regulars within their proper ſphere, as ſtruck them with general conſternation[y]. They had recourſe to their uſual arts. They alarmed the ſuperſtitious, by repreſenting the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue, in order to gain perſons in power; and ſeconded by the powerful influence of the Jeſuits, who claimed and enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impreſſion on a bigoted prince, and a weak miniſtry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuſes which it occaſioned continued to increaſe, and the corruption of monks, exempt from the reſtraints of diſcipline, and the inſpection of any ſuperior, became a diſgrace to religion. At laſt, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monaſtic orders began to abate, and the power of the Jeſuits was on the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy, by iſſuing an edict, prohibiting regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any

June 23, 1757.

[y] See NOTE XX.

monaſ-

pariſh with the cure of ſouls; and declaring, that on the demiſe of the preſent incumbents, none but ſecular prieſts, ſubject to the juriſdiction of their dioceſans, ſhall be preſented to vacant benefices [z]. If this regulation is carried into execution with ſteadineſs in any degree proportional to the wiſdom with which it is framed, a very conſiderable reformation may take place in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Spaniſh America, and the ſecular clergy may gradually become a reſpectable body of men. The deportment of many eccleſiaſtics, even at preſent, ſeems to be decent and exemplary, otherwiſe we can hardly ſuppoſe that they would be held in ſuch high eſtimation, and poſſeſs ſuch a wonderful aſcendant over the minds of their countrymen throughout all the Spaniſh ſettlements.

Small progreſs in converting the Indians to chriſtianity.

But whatever merit the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics in America may poſſeſs, the ſucceſs of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians, has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this, various reaſons may be aſſigned. The firſt miſſionaries, in their ardour

[z] Real Cedula MS. penes me.

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to make proſelytes, admitted the people of America into the chriſtian church, without previous inſtruction in the doctines of religion, and even before they themſelves had acquired ſuch knowledge of the Indian language, as to be able to explain to the natives the myſteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Reſting upon a ſubtle diſtinction in ſcholaſtic theology, between that degree of aſſent which is founded on a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded when both theſe are imperfect, they adopted this ſtrange practice, no leſs inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of a religion which addreſſes itſelf to the underſtanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reaſon. As ſoon as any body of people, overawed by dread of the Spaniſh power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expreſſed the ſlighteſt deſire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were inſtantly baptized. While this rage of converſion continued, a ſingle clergyman baptized in one day above five thouſand Mexicans, and did not deſiſt until he was ſo exhauſted by fatigue, that he was unable to lift his hands [a]. In the courſe of a few years, after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the ſacrament of bap-

[a] P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. Mond. Ind. lib. xvi. c. 6.

tiſm

tiſin was adminiſtered to more than four millions [b]. Proſelytes adopted with ſuch inconſiderate haſte, and who were neither inſtructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was ſuppoſed they had given aſſent, nor taught the abſurdity of thoſe which they were required to relinquiſh, retained their veneration for their ancient ſuperſtitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rites with that ſlender knowledge of Chriſtianity which they had acquired. Theſe ſentiments the new converts tranſmitted to their poſterity, into whoſe minds they have ſunk ſo deep, that the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, with all their induſtry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious inſtitutions of their anceſtors are ſtill remembered and held in honour by many of the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themſelves out of reach of inſpection by the Spaniards, they aſſemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites [c].

But this is not the moſt unſurmountable obſtacle to the progreſs of Chriſtianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated underſtandings are ſo limited, their obſervations

[b] Torribio, MS. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 8.

[c] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 341. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 23. lib. xvi. c. 28. Gage, 171.

and

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and reflections reach ſo little beyond the mere objects of ſenſe, that they ſeem hardly to have the capacity of forming abſtract ideas, and poſſeſs not language to expreſs them. To ſuch men the ſublime and ſpiritual doctrines of Chriſtianity muſt be, in a great meaſure, incomprehenſible. The numerous and ſplendid ceremonies of the popiſh worſhip catch the eye, pleaſe and intereſt them; but when their inſtructors attempt to explain the articles of faith, with which thoſe external obſervances are connected, though the Indians may liſten with patience, they ſo little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquieſcence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is ſtill greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the preſent moment, and engroſſed by the objects before them, the Indians ſo ſeldom reflect upon what is paſt, or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promiſes nor threats of religion make much impreſſion upon them; and while their foreſight rarely extends ſo far as the next day, it is almoſt impoſſible to inſpire them with ſolicitude about the concerns of a future world. Aſtoniſhed equally at their ſlowneſs of comprehenſion, and at their inſenſibility, ſome of the early miſſionaries pronounced them a race of men ſo brutiſh, as to be incapable of under-

ſtanding the firſt principles of religion. A council held at Lima decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the ſacrament of the Euchariſt[d]. Though Paul III. by his famous bull, iſſued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of Chriſtians[e]; yet, after the lapſe of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, ſo imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very few poſſeſs ſuch a portion of ſpiritual diſcernment, as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion[f]. From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. eſtabliſhed the inquiſition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the juriſdiction of that ſevere tribunal[g], and ſtill continue under the inſpection of their dioceſans. Even after the moſt perfect inſtruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though ſome of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary courſe of academic education with applauſe, their frailty is ſtill ſo much

[d] Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20.
[e] Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 25. Garcia origin. 311.
[f] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 343. [g] Recop. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 35.

ſuſpected,

BOOK VIII. ſuſpected, that few Indians are either ordained prieſts, or received into any religious order [h].

Productions of the Spaniſh colonies.

FROM this brief ſurvey, ſome idea may be formed of the interior ſtate of the Spaniſh colonies. The various productions with which they ſupply and enrich the mother-country, and the ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World had been of ſuch moderate extent, as bore a due proportion to the parent ſtate, the progreſs of her colonizing might have been attended with the ſame benefit as that of other nations. But when, in leſs than half a century, her inconſiderate rapacity had ſeized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill ſuch vaſt regions with a number of inhabitants ſufficient for the cultivation of them was ſo obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the coloniſts. They did not form compact ſettlements, where induſtry, circumſcribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that ſober perſevering ſpirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its poſſeſſion to a proper uſe, and derives thence the greateſt advantage. Inſtead

[h] Torquem. lib. xvii. c. 13. See NOTE XXI.

of

of this, the Spaniards, ſeduced by the boundleſs proſpect which opened to them, divided their poſſeſſions in America into governments of great extent. As their number was too ſmall to attempt the regular culture of the immenſe provinces which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects, that allured them with hopes of ſudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of induſtry, which lead more ſlowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increaſe of national ſtrength.

From their mines.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of ſearching for the precious metals is one of the moſt inviting to men, who are either unaccuſtomed to the regular aſſiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce muſt be carried on, or who are ſo enterpriſing and rapacious as not to be ſatisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly as ſoon as the ſeveral countries in America were ſubjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almoſt the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to ſettle, by the proſpect

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proſpect of their affording gold and ſilver, were totally neglected. Theſe in which they met with a diſappointment of the ſanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the iſlands, the firſt fruits of their diſcoveries, and the firſt object of their attention, ſunk ſo much in their eſtimation, when the mines which had been opened in them were exhauſted, that they were deſerted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more induſtrious poſſeſſors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the quantities of gold and ſilver found among the natives, who ſearched for them with little induſtry and leſs ſkill, promiſed an unexhauſted ſtore, as the recompence of more intelligent and perſevering efforts.

Diſcovery of thoſe of Potoſi and Sacotecas.

DURING ſeveral years, the ardour of their reſearches was kept up by hope, rather than ſucceſs. At length, the rich ſilver mines of Potoſi, in Peru, were accidentally diſcovered in the year 1545[1], by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in purſuit of a Llama which had ſtrayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were

[1] Fernandez, p. 1. lib. xi. c. 11.

opened.

opened. From that time, ſucceſſive diſcoveries have been made in both colonies, and ſilver mines are now ſo numerous, that the working of them, and of ſome few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firmè, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a ſyſtem no leſs complicated than intereſting. To deſcribe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the ſeveral proceſſes by which the metals are ſeparated from the ſubſtances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philoſopher or chymiſt, rather than of the hiſtorian.

Riches which they yield.

THE exuberant profuſion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treaſures aſtoniſhed mankind, who had been accuſtomed hitherto to receive a penurious ſupply of the precious metals, from the more ſcanty ſtores contained in the mines of the ancient hemiſphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and ſilver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions ſterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was diſcovered,

to

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to the preſent time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immenſe as this ſum is, the Spaniſh writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in conſideration of treaſure which has been extracted from the mines, and imported fraudulently into Spain, without paying duty to the King. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a ſupply of wealth, amounting at leaſt to two thouſand millions of pounds ſterling [k].

Spirit to which this gives riſe.

THE mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treaſure, are not worked at the expence of the crown or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the perſon who diſcovers and works a new vein, is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim to ſuch a diſcovery before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is meaſured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the cuſtomary duty to the King, for what it ſhall produce. Invited by the facility with which ſuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by ſome ſtriking examples of ſucceſs in this line of adventure; not only the ſanguine and the

[k] Uztariz Theor. y Pract. de Commercia, c. 3. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. xi. c. 15. See NOTE XXII.

bold, but the timid and diffident, enter upon it with aſtoniſhing ardour. With vaſt objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her ſecret ſtores, and give up the wealth which they contain to their wiſhes, they deem every other occupation inſipid and unintereſting. The charms of this purſuit, like the rage for deep play, are ſo bewitching, and take ſuch full poſſeſſion of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence the cautious become enterpriſing, and the covetous profuſe. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru by the cant name of *ſearchers*. Theſe are commonly perſons of deſperate fortune, who, availing themſelves of ſome ſkill in mineralogy, accompanied with the inſinuating manner and confident pretenſions peculiar to projectors, addreſs the wealthy and the credulous. By plauſible deſcriptions of the appearances which they have diſcovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requiſite, ſpecimens of promiſing ore; by affirming, with an impoſing aſſurance, that ſucceſs is certain, and that the expence muſt be trifling, they ſeldom fail to perſuade. An aſſociation is formed; a ſmall ſum is advanced by each copartner; the mine is opened; the *ſearcher* is

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entruſted with the ſole direction of every operation; unforeſeen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but, amidſt a ſucceſſion of diſappointments and delays, hope is never extinguiſhed, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is obſerved, that if any perſon once enter this ſeducing path, it is almoſt impoſſible to return; his ideas alter, he ſeems to be poſſeſſed with another ſpirit; viſions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and ſpeaks, and dreams of nothing elſe [1].

Fatal effects of it.

SUCH is the ſpirit that muſt be formed, wherever the active exertions of any ſociety are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and ſilver. No ſpirit is more adverſe to ſuch improvements in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the Spaniſh colonies had been founded upon principles of ſound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legiſlator would have been exerted with as much ardour, in reſtraining its ſubjects from ſuch pernicious induſtry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of "mining," (ſays a good judge of the political conduct of nations) "inſtead of replacing the

[1] Ulloa Entreten. p. 223.

"capital

" capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of ſtock, commonly abſorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent lawgiver, who deſired to increaſe the capital of his nation, would leaſt chooſe to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater ſhare of that capital than would go to them of its own accord. Such, in reality, is the abſurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the leaſt probability of ſucceſs, too great a ſhare of it is apt to go to them of its own accord[m]." But in the Spaniſh colonies, government is ſtudious to cheriſh a ſpirit which it ſhould have laboured to depreſs, and, by the ſanction of its approbation, augments that inconſiderate credulity, which has turned the active induſtry of Mexico and Peru into ſuch an improper channel. To this may be imputed the ſlender progreſs which Spaniſh America has made, during two centuries and a half, either in uſeful manufactures, or in thoſe lucrative branches of cultivation, which furniſh the colonies of other nations with their ſtaple commodities. In compariſon with the precious metals every bounty of nature is ſo much deſpiſed,

[m] Dr. Smith's Inquiry, &c. ii. 155.

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that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of language in America, and the Spaniards ſettled there denominate a country *rich*, not from the fertility of its ſoil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its paſtures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In queſt of theſe, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and reſort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built ſome of the largeſt towns which they poſſeſs in the New World. As the activity and enterpriſe of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now ſo difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various cauſes, the gain of working mines is much decreaſed, the faſcination continues, and almoſt every perſon, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is ſtill engaged in ſome adventure of this kind [a].

Other commodities of the Spaniſh colonies.

But though miſes are the chief object of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which theſe yield form the principal article in their commerce with America; the fertile countries which they poſſeſs there abound with other commodities of ſuch value or ſcarcity, as to

[a] See NOTE XXIII.

attract

attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain, of such demand in commerce, that the sale is always certain, and it yields such profit, as amply rewards the labour and care employed in rearing the curious insects of which this valuable drug is composed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jesuits Bark, the most salutary simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence, in compassion to human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce. The Indigo of Guatimala is superior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a considerable extent. Cacao, though not peculiar to the Spanish colonies, attains to its highest state of perfection there, and, from the great consumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The Tobacco of Cuba, of more exquisite flavour than any brought from the New World; the Sugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America, which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added an article of no inconsiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which as well as for many of those which I have enume-

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rated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country, than to their own foreſight and induſtry. The domeſtic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almoſt exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards ſettled there, the herds of tame cattle became ſo numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thouſands [o]. Leſs attention being paid to them, as they continued to increaſe, they were ſuffered to run wild, and ſpreading over a country of boundleſs extent, under a mild climate, and covered with rich paſture, their number became immenſe. They range over the vaſt plains which extend from Buenos Ayres, towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thouſand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed ſeveral days before he can diſentangle himſelf from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and ſeems to have no end. They are hardly leſs numerous in New Spain, and in ſeveral other provinces: they are killed merely for the ſake of their hides; and the ſlaughter at certain ſeaſons is ſo great that the ſtench of their carcaſes, which are left in the field,

[o] Oviedo ap. Ramuſ. iii. 101. B. Hackluyt, iii. 466. 511.

would

would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vaſt flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the moſt voracious of all the feathered kind, did not inſtantly devour them. The number of thoſe hides exported in every fleet to Europe is very great, and is a lucrative branch of commerce [p]. BOOK VIII.

ALMOST all theſe may be conſidered as ſtaple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that laſt mentioned, from the productions of the mother country.

Advantages which Spain derives from her colonies.

WHEN the importation into Spain of thoſe various articles from her colonies firſt became active and conſiderable, her interior induſtry and manufactures were in a ſtate ſo proſperous, that with the product of theſe ſhe was able both to purchaſe the commodities of the New World, and to anſwer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and Charles V., Spain was one of the moſt induſtrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and ſilk, were ſo extenſive, as not only to furniſh what was ſufficient for her own conſumption, but to afford a ſurplus for exportation. When a

[p] Acoſta, lib. iii. c. 33. Ovallo Hiſt. of Chili. Church. Collect. iii. 47. ſept. Ibid. v. p. 680. 692. Lettres Edif. xiii. 235. Feuille, i. 249.

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market for them, formerly unknown, and to which ſhe alone had acceſs, opened in America, ſhe had recourſe to her domeſtic ſtore, and found there an abundant ſupply [q]. This new employment muſt naturally have added vivacity to the ſpirit of induſtry. Nouriſhed and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain, might have gone on increaſing in the ſame proportion with the growth of her colonies. Nor was the ſtate of the Spaniſh marine at this period leſs flouriſhing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, Spain is ſaid to have poſſeſſed above a thouſand merchant-ſhips [r], a number probably far ſuperior to that of any nation in Europe in that age. By the aid which foreign trade and domeſtic induſtry give reciprocally to each other in their progreſs, the augmentation of both muſt have been rapid and extenſive, and Spain might have received the ſame acceſſion of opulence and vigour from her acquiſitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

Why ſhe does not now derive the ſame.

BUT various cauſes prevented this. The ſame thing happens to nations as to individuals.

[q] See NOTE XXIV. [r] Campomanes, ii. 140.

Wealth,

Wealth, which flows in gradually, and with moderate increaſe, feeds and nouriſhes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well-conducted exertions; but when opulence pours in ſuddenly, and with too full a ſtream, it overturns all ſober plans of induſtry, and brings along with it a taſte for what is wild and extravagant, and daring in buſineſs or in action. Such was the great and ſudden augmentation of power and revenue, that the poſſeſſion of America brought into Spain; and ſome ſymptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy ſoon began to appear. For a conſiderable time, however, the ſupply of treaſure from the New World was ſcanty and precarious; and the genius of Charles V. conducted public meaſures with ſuch prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. aſcended the Spaniſh throne, with talents far inferior to thoſe of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and conſiderable branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the ſtate of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conſpicuous. Philip, poſſeſſing that ſpirit of unceaſing aſſiduity, which often characteriſes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained ſuch an high opinion of

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his own resources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himself in the solitude of the Escurial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and English; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garrisons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By such a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, pursued with ardour during the course of a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak administration of his successor, Philip III., the vigour of the
A. D. 1611. nation continued to decrease, and sunk into the lowest decline, when the inconsiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his most industrious subjects, at the very time when the exhausted state of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertion of political wisdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its strength. Early in the seventeenth century, Spain felt such a diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies, she was obliged to contract her operations. Her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extensive foreign commerce was lost. The trade between different parts of her own

own dominions was interrupted, and the ships which attempted to carry it on were taken and plundered by enemies whom ſhe once deſpiſed. Even agriculture, the primary object of induſtry in every proſperous ſtate, was neglected, and one of the moſt fertile countries in Europe hardly raiſed what was ſufficient for the ſupport of its own inhabitants.

Rapid decline of its trade.

In proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent ſtate declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increaſe. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deſerted the paths of induſtry, to which they had been accuſtomed, and repaired with eagerneſs to thoſe regions from which this opulence iſſued. By this rage of emigration, another drain was opened, and the ſtrength of the colonies augmented by exhauſting that of the mother country. All thoſe emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at firſt ſettled in America, depended abſolutely upon Spain for almoſt every article of neceſſary conſumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative purſuits, or prevented by reſtraints which government impoſed, they could not turn their own attention towards eſtabliſhing the manufactures requiſite for comfortable ſubſiſtence. They received (as I have obſerved in another

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place) their cloathing, their furniture, whatever miniſters to the eaſe or luxury of life, and even their inſtruments of labour from Europe. Spain thinned of people, and decreaſing in induſtry, was unable to ſupply their growing demands. She had recourſe to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into exiſtence, or animated with new vivacity, furniſhed in abundance whatever ſhe required. In vain did the fundamental law, concerning the excluſion of foreigners from trade with America, oppoſe this innovation. Neceſſity, more powerful than any ſtatute, defeated its operation, and conſtrained the Spaniards themſelves to concur in eluding it. The Engliſh, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honour of Spaniſh merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, ſend out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are ſold there, either in ſpecie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurement of profit, ever induced a Spaniſh factor to betray or defraud the perſon who confided in him[s]; and that probity, which is the pride and diſtinction of the nation, con-

[s] Zavala Repreſentacion, p. 226.

tributes

tributes to its ruin. In a ſhort time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spaniſh growth or fabric[t]. All the reſt was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treaſure of the New World may be ſaid henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe, it was anticipated as the price of goods purchaſed from foreigners. That wealth which, by an internal circulation, would have ſpread through each vein of induſtry, and have conveyed life and movement to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with ſuch a rapid courſe, as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artizans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick ſale of their commodities, improved ſo much in ſkill and induſtry, as to be able to afford them at a rate ſo low, that the manufactures of Spain which could not vie with theirs, either in quality or cheapneſs of work, were ſtill farther depreſſed. This deſtructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faſter and more completely, than even the extravagant ſchemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was ſo much aſtoniſhed and diſtreſſed, at beholding her American treaſures vaniſh almoſt

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[t] Campomanes, ii. 138.

as

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as ſoon as they were imported, that Philip III., unable to ſupply what was requiſite in circulation, iſſued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raiſe copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of ſilver [u]; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the laſt reſource of petty impoveriſhed ſtates.

THUS the poſſeſſions of Spain in America have not proved a ſource of population and of wealth to her, in the ſame manner as thoſe of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the ſpirit of induſtry ſubſiſts in full vigour, every perſon ſettled in ſuch colonies as are ſimilar in their ſituation to thoſe of Spain is ſuppoſed to give employment to three or four at home in ſupplying his wants [x]. But wherever the mother country cannot afford this ſupply, every emigrant may be conſidered as a citizen loſt to the community, and ſtrangers muſt reap all the benefit of anſwering his demands.

Increaſed by the mode of regulating its intercourſe with America.

SUCH has been the internal ſtate of Spain from the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, and ſuch her inability to ſupply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this diſ-

[u] Uztarez, c. 104. [x] Child on Trade and Colonies.

proportion

proportion between their demands, and her capacity of anſwering them, have been much increaſed by the mode in which Spain has endeavoured to regulate the intercourſe between the mother country and the colonies. It is from her idea of monopolizing the trade with America, and debarring her ſubjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and ſyſtematic arrangements have ariſen. Theſe are ſo ſingular in their nature and conſequences as to merit a particular explanation. In order to ſecure the monopoly at which ſhe aimed, Spain did not veſt the trade with her colonies in an excluſive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better underſtood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to excluſive companies. The Engliſh, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with reſpect to the Eaſt Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a ſimilar reſtraint upon ſome branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, deviſe a method for checking the progreſs of induſtry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The intereſt of the colony, and of the excluſive company, muſt

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muſt in every point be diametrically oppoſite; and as the latter poſſeſſes ſuch advantages in this unequal conteſt, that it can preſcribe at pleaſure the terms of intercourſe, the former muſt not only buy dear and ſell cheap, but muſt ſuffer the mortification of having the increaſe of its ſurplus ſtock diſcouraged by thoſe very perſons to whom alone it can diſpoſe of its productions [7].

This confined to one port in Spain.

SPAIN, it is probable, was preſerved from falling into this error of policy, by the high ideas which ſhe early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and ſilver were commodities of too high value to veſt a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wiſhed to retain the direction of a commerce ſo inviting; and, in order to ſecure that, ordained the cargo of every ſhip fitted out for America, to be inſpected by the officers of the *Caſa de Contratacion* in Seville, before it could receive a licence to make the voyage; and that on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought ſhould be made to the ſame board, before it could be permitted to land them. In conſequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred originally in the

[7] Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171.

port

port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has been conducted, with little variation, from the middle of the fixteenth century almoſt to our own times. For the greater ſecurity of the valuable cargoes ſent to America, as well as for the more eaſy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain with its colonies is carried on by fleets which ſail under ſtrong convoys. Theſe fleets, conſiſting of two ſquadrons, one diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Galeons*, the other by that of the *Flota*, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have ſailed from it ſince the year 1720. BOOK VIII.

Carried on by the Galeons.

THE Galeons deſtined to ſupply Tierra Firmé, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almoſt every article of luxury, or neceſſary conſumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch firſt at Carthagena, and then at Porto-bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and ſeveral other provinces, reſort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the ſeaſon when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in theſe two kingdoms, together with their other valuable com-

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modities, is tranſported by ſea to Panama. From thence, as ſoon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed acroſs the iſthmus, partly on mules, and partly down the river Chagre to Porto-bello. This paltry village, the climate of which, from the pernicious union of exceſſive heat, continual moiſture, and the putrid exhalations ariſing from a rank ſoil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the reſidence of a few negroes and mulattoes, and of a miſerable garriſon relieved every three months, Porto-bello aſſumes ſuddenly a very different aſpect, and its ſtreets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru, and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its preſcribed term of forty days, the richeſt traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finiſhed, with that ſimplicity of tranſaction and that unbounded confidence, which accompany extenſive commerce[a]. The Flota holds its courſe to Vera Cruz. The treaſures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were depoſited at Puebla de los Angeles, in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither; and the commercial opera-

and Flota.

[a] See NOTE XXV.

tions

tions of Vera Cruz, conducted in the ſame manner with thoſe of Porto-bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as ſoon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havanna, and return in company to Europe.

Bad effects of this arrangement.

THE trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and reſtricted, came neceſſarily to be conducted with the ſame ſpirit, and upon the ſame principles, as that of an excluſive company. Being confined to a ſingle port, it was of courſe thrown into a few hands, and almoſt the whole of it was gradually engroſſed by a ſmall number of wealthy houſes, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. Theſe by combinations, which they can eaſily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preſerves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual intereſt, they may raiſe or lower the value of them at pleaſure. In conſequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent. are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies[a]. From the ſame engroſſing

[a] B. Ulloa Retabliſſ. part ii. p. 191.

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ſpirit it frequently happens, that traders of the ſecond order, whoſe warehouſes do not contain a complete aſſortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchaſe from the more opulent merchants ſuch goods as they want, at a lower price than that for which they are ſold in the colonies. With the ſame vigilant jealouſy that an excluſive company guards againſt the intruſion of the free trader, thoſe overgrown monopoliſts endeavour to check the progreſs of every one whoſe encroachments they dread [b]. This reſtraint of the American commerce to one port, not only affects its domeſtic ſtate, but limits its foreign operations. A monopoliſt may acquire more, and certainly will hazard leſs, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extenſive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his intereſt not to enlarge, but to circumſcribe the ſphere of his activity; and, inſtead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial induſtry, it may be the object of his attention to check and ſet bounds to them. By ſome ſuch maxim, the mercantile policy of Spain ſeems to have regulated its intercourſe with America. Inſtead of furniſh-

[b] Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 438.

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ing the colonies with European goods in such quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz seem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, that the eagerness of competition amongst customers, obliged to purchase in a scanty market, might enable the Spanish factors to dispose of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the last century, when the exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the burthen of the two united squadrons of the Galeons and Flota did not exceed twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons[c]. The supply which such a fleet could carry must have been very inadequate to the demands of those populous and extensive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries, and many of the necessaries of life.

Spain early became sensible of her declension from her former prosperity; and many respectable and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, con-

Remedies proposed.

[c] Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 435. ii. 110.

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founding a violation of police with criminality againſt the ſtate, contended that, in order to check illicit commerce, every perſon convicted of carrying it on ſhould be puniſhed with death, and confiſcation of all his effects [d]. Others, forgetting the diſtinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, inſiſted, that contraband trade ſhould be ranked among the crimes reſerved for the cognizance of the Inquiſition; that ſuch as were guilty of it might be tried and puniſhed, according to the ſecret and ſummary form in which that dreadful tribunal exerciſes its juriſdiction [e]. Others, uninſtructed by obſerving the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where they have been eſtabliſhed, have propoſed to veſt the trade with America in excluſive companies, which intereſt would render the moſt vigilant guardians of the Spaniſh commerce againſt the incroachment of the interlopers [f].

Besides theſe wild projects, many ſchemes better digeſted and more beneficial, were ſuggeſted. But under the feeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Auſtrian line in Spain cloſed, incapacity and indeciſion are conſpicuous in every department of government. In-

[d] M. de Santa Cruz Commercia Suelto, p. 142.
[e] Moncada Reſtauracion politica de Eſpagna, p. 41.
[f] Zavalla y Augnon Repreſentacion, &c. p. 190.

ſtead

ſtead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V., they affected to imitate the cautious procraſtinating wiſdom of Philip II., and deſtitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domeſtic as well as foreign, languiſhed. Theſe evils continued to increaſe; and Spain, with dominions more extenſive and more opulent than any European ſtate, poſſeſſed neither vigour, nor money[g], nor induſtry. At length, the violence of a great national convulſion rouſed the ſlumbering genius of Spain. The efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth, in ſome degree, the ancient ſpirit and vigour of the nation. While men were thus forming, capable of adopting ſentiments more liberal than thoſe which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the courſe of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected ſource the means of availing itſelf of their talents. The various powers who favoured the pretenſions either of the Auſtrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spaniſh throne, ſent formidable fleets and armies to their ſup-

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[g] See NOTE XXVI.

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port; France, England, and Holland remitted immenſe ſums to Spain. These were ſpent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treaſure, of which foreigners had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this æra, one of the moſt intelligent Spaniſh authors dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges, that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquiſition of a fund of circulating ſpecie, in ſome meaſure adequate to the exigencies of the public[h].

Step towards improvement by the Bourbon monarchs,

As ſoon as the Bourbons obtained quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, they diſcerned this change in the ſpirit of the people, and in the ſtate of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that family has not given monarchs to Spain remarkable for ſuperiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happineſs of their ſubjects, and ſolicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly, the firſt object of Philip V. to ſuppreſs an innovation which had crept in during the courſe of the war, and had overturned the whole ſyſtem of the Spaniſh commerce with America. The Engliſh and Dutch, by their ſuperiority in

[h] Campomanes, i. 420.

naval

naval power, having acquired ſuch command of the ſea, as to cut off all intercourſe between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furniſh her ſubjects in America thoſe neceſſaries of life, without which they could not exiſt, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treaſure, departed ſo far from the uſual rigour of its maxims as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from thoſe of the Spaniards. They ſupplied Peru with European commodities at a moderate price, and not in ſtinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spaniſh America, in ſuch abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourſe had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain muſt have ceaſed, and the dependance of the colonies on the mother country have been at an end. The moſt peremptory injunctions were therefore iſſued, prohibiting the admiſſion of foreign veſſels into any port of Peru or Chili[1], and a Spaniſh ſquadron was employed to clear the South

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by excluding foreigners from trade with Peru;

1713.

[1] Frezier Voy. 256. B. Ulloa Retab. ii. 104, &c. Alcedo y Herrera. Aviſo, &c. 236.

Sea

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Sea of intruders, whoſe aid was no longer neceſſary.

by checking contraband trade,

But though on the ceſſation of the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial ſyſtem, ſhe was expoſed to another, which ſhe deemed hardly leſs pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Ann to conclude a peace, which France and Spain deſired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain

particularly of the Engliſh Aſſiento company.

the *Aſſiento*, or contract for ſupplying the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of ſending annually to the fair of Porto-bello a ſhip of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In conſequence of this, Britiſh factories were eſtabliſhed at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spaniſh ſettlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the ſtate and tranſactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, reſiding in the towns of moſt extenſive trade, and of chief reſort, had the beſt opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of obſerving their ſtated and occaſional wants, and of knowing what

commodities might be imported into them with the greateſt advantage. In conſequence of information ſo authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica and other Engliſh colonies who traded to the Spaniſh main, were enabled to aſſort and proportion their cargoes ſo exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the moſt fatal conſequence of the Aſſiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the Britiſh South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authoriſed to make by the ſhip ſent annually to Porto-bello, poured in their commodities on the Spaniſh continent, without limitation or reſtraint. Inſtead of a ſhip of five hundred tons, as ſtipulated in the treaty, they uſually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burthen. She was accompanied by two or three ſmaller veſſels, which, mooring in ſome neighbouring creek, ſupplied her clandeſtinely with freſh bales of goods, to replace ſuch as were ſold. The inſpectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant preſents, connived at the fraud[k]. Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the

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[k] See NOTE XXVII.

activity

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activity of private interlopers, almoſt the whole trade of Spaniſh America was engroſſed by foreigners. The immenſe commerce of the 1737. Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ſunk to nothing, and the ſquadron itſelf reduced from fifteen thouſand to two thouſand tons[1], ſerved hardly any purpoſe but to fetch home the royal revenue ariſing from the fifth on ſilver.

Guarda Coſtas employed for this purpoſe.

WHILE Spain obſerved thoſe encroachments, and felt ſo ſenſibly their pernicious effects, it was impoſſible not to make ſome effort to reſtrain them. Her firſt expedient was to ſtation ſhips of force, under the appellation of *Guarda Coſtas*, upon the coaſts of thoſe provinces to which interlopers moſt frequently reſorted. As private intereſt concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded thoſe veſſels vigilant and active, ſome check was given to the progreſs of the contraband trade, though in dominions ſo extenſive, and ſo acceſſible by ſea, hardly any number of cruiſers was ſufficient to guard againſt its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourſe, which had been carried on with ſo much facility, that the merchants in the

[1] Alcedo y Herrera, p. 359. Campomanes, i. 436.

Britiſh

Britiſh colonies were accuſtomed to conſider it almoſt as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. Theſe authoriſed, in ſome meaſure, and rendered more intereſting, by ſeveral unjuſtifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain; in conſequence of which the latter obtained a final releaſe from the Aſſiento, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being reſtrained by any engagement with a foreign power. 1739.

The uſe of regiſter ſhips introduced.

As the formidable encroachments of the Engliſh on their American trade, had diſcovered to the Spaniards the vaſt conſumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occaſional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the neceſſity of deviſing ſome method of ſupplying their colonies, different from their ancient one of ſending thither periodical fleets. That mode of communication had been found not only to be uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was ſometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe; but long experience had ſhewn it to be ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely ſupply of what it

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wanted. The ſcarcity of European goods in the Spaniſh ſettlements frequently became exceſſive; their price roſe to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to obſerve this favourable opportunity; an ample ſupply was poured in by interlopers from the Engliſh, the French, and Dutch iſlands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets ſo glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain has permitted a conſiderable part of her commerce with America to be carried on by *regiſter ſhips*. Theſe are fitted out, during the intervals between the ſtated ſeaſons when the Galeons and Flota ſail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are deſtined for thoſe ports in America where any extraordinary demand is foreſeen or expected. By this expedient, ſuch a regular ſupply of the commodities, for which there is the greateſt demand, is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the ſame proſpect of exceſſive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the ſame neceſſity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

In proportion as experience manifeſted the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of regiſter ſhips increaſed; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aſide. From that period there has been no intercourſe with Chili and Peru but by ſingle ſhips, diſpatched from time to time as occaſion requires, and when the merchants expect a profitable market will open. Theſe ſhips ſail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people ſettled in thoſe countries were formerly obliged to repair to Porto-bello or Panama. Theſe towns, as has been formerly obſerved, muſt gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their proſperity. This diſadvantage, however, is more than compenſated by the beneficial effects of this new arrangement, as the whole continent of South America receives new ſupplies of European commodities with ſo much regularity, and in ſuch abundance, as muſt not only contribute greatly to the happineſs, but increaſe the population of all the colonies ſettled there. But as all the regiſter ſhips deſtined for the South Seas muſt ſtill take their departure from Cadiz, and are obliged

The Galeons aboliſhed.

BOOK VIII. obliged to return thither[m], this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues ſubject to the reſtraints of a ſpecies of monopoly, and feels thoſe pernicious effects of it, which I have already deſcribed.

Schemes for reviving commerce.

Nor has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its more flouriſhing colonies, it has extended likewiſe to the reviving commerce in thoſe ſettlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new taſtes which the people of Europe have acquired, in conſequence of importing the productions of thoſe countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the moſt univerſal. The uſe of this liquor made with a paſte, formed of the nut or almond of the cacao-tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards firſt learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, ſo palatable, ſo nouriſhing, and ſo wholeſome, that it has become a commercial article of conſiderable importance. The cacao-tree grows ſpontaneouſly in ſeveral parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the beſt quality,

[m] Campomanes, i. 434. 440.

next

next to thoſe of Guatimala, on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firmè. In conſequence of this acknowledged ſuperiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extenſive than in any diſtrict of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their ſettlements in the ſmall iſlands of Curazoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coaſt of Caraccas, gradually engroſſed the greateſt part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother country for this valuable commodity ceaſed almoſt entirely; and ſuch was the ſupine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no leſs diſgraceful than pernicious to his ſubjects, Philip V., in the year 1728, granted to a body of merchants an excluſive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, on condition of their employing, at their own expence, a ſufficient number of armed veſſels to clear the coaſt of interlopers. This ſociety, diſtinguiſhed ſometimes by the name of the company of Guipuſcoa, from the province of Spain in which it is eſtabliſhed, and ſometimes

by eſtabliſhing the Company of Caraccas.

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by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the diſtrict of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which ſhe had ſuffered to be wreſted from her, and is plentifully ſupplied with an article of extenſive conſumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent ſtate, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this inſtitution; for although, at the firſt aſpect, it may appear to be one of thoſe monopolies, whoſe tendency is to check the ſpirit of induſtry, inſtead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner by ſeveral ſalutary regulations, framed upon foreſight of ſuch bad effects, and of purpoſe to obviate them. The planters in the Caraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the ſale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary iſlands have the privilege of ſending thither annually a regiſter ſhip of conſiderable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In conſequence of this, there is ſuch a competition, that both with reſpect to what the colonies purchaſe, and what they ſell, the price ſeems to be fixed at its natural

and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raiſing the former, or of degrading the latter at pleaſure; and accordingly, ſince it was eſtabliſhed, the increaſe of culture, of population, and of live ſtock, in the province of Caraccas, has been very conſiderable[a].

Enlargement of commercial ideas in Spain.

But as it is ſlowly that nations relinquiſh any ſyſtem which time has rendered venerable, and as it is ſtill more ſlowly that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accuſtomed to flow, Philip V., in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid ſuch deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of all importation from the New World to one harbour, as to oblige both the regiſter ſhips which returned from Peru, and thoſe of the Guipuſcoan Company from Caraccas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, ſentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to ſpread in Spain. The ſpirit of philoſophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the preſent age to have turned from frivolous or abſtruſe ſpeculations, to the buſineſs and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pyrenees. In the reſearches of ingenious authors, concerning the police or

[a] See NOTE XXVIII.

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commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spaniſh ſyſtem with reſpect to both met every eye, and have not only been expoſed with ſeverity, but are held up as a warning to other ſtates. The Spaniards, ſtung with the reproaches of theſe authors, or convinced by their arguments, and admoniſhed by ſeveral enlightened writers of their own country, ſeem at length to have diſcovered the deſtructive tendency of thoſe narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have ſo long retarded its progreſs. It is to the monarch now on the throne, that Spain is indebted for the firſt public regulation formed in conſequence of ſuch enlarged ideas.

Eſtabliſhment of regular packet boats.

WHILE Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims concerning her commerce with America, ſhe was ſo much afraid of opening any channel, by which an illicit trade might find admiſſion into the colonies, that ſhe almoſt ſhut herſelf out from any intercourſe with them, but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no eſtabliſhment for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother-country and its American ſettlements. From the want of this neceſſary inſtitution, the operations of the ſtate, as well as the buſineſs of individuals, were retarded or

conducted unskilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was sensibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous spirit with which the Spanish monarchs guarded the exclusive trade, restrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. surmounted those considerations which had deterred his predecessors, and in the year 1764 appointed packet-boats to be dispatched on the first day of each month, from Corugna to the Havanna or Porto-Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in smaller vessels to Vera Cruz and Porto-bello, and transmitted by post through the kingdoms of Tierra Firmè, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no less regularity packet-boats sail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the east of the Andes. Thus provision is made for a speedy and certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vast dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages must redound to the political and mercantile interest of the kingdom°. With this new arrangement a scheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet-boats,

° Pontz Viage de Espagna, vi. Prol. p. 15.

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which are veſſels of ſome conſiderable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of ſuch commodities as are the product of Spain, and moſt in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for theſe they may bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions[p]. This may be conſidered as the firſt relaxation of thoſe rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a ſingle port, and the firſt attempt to admit the reſt of the kingdom to ſome ſhare in it.

Free trade permitted to ſeveral provinces.

It was ſoon followed by one more deciſive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward iſlands, Cuba, Hiſpaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his ſubjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to ſail from certain ports in each province, which are ſpecified in the edict, at any ſeaſon, and with whatever cargo they deemed moſt proper, without any other warrant than a ſimple clearance from the cuſtom-houſe of the place whence they took their departure. He releaſed them from the numerous and oppreſſive duties impoſed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole ſubſtituted a moderate tax of ſix in the hundred on the commodities ſent from

[p] Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. p. 31.

Spain.

Spain. He allowed them to return either to the ſame port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargo, on payment of the uſual duties. This ample privilege, which at once broke through all the fences which the jealous policy of Spain had been labouring, for two centuries and a half, to throw round its commercial intercourſe with the New World, was ſoon after extended to Louiſiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy[q].

Beneficial effects of it.

THE propriety of this innovation, which may be conſidered as the moſt liberal effort of Spaniſh legiſlation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favour of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hiſpaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconſiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was engroſſed almoſt entirely by interlopers. But as ſoon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourſe with thoſe provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progreſſion, of which there are few examples in the hiſtory of nations. In leſs than ten years, the trade

[q] Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. 37. 54. 91.

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of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in thoſe ſettlements where, from the languiſhing ſtate of induſtry, greater efforts were requiſite to reſtore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed, that ſuch a number of ſhips is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota, at the moſt flouriſhing æra of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants, eſtabliſhed in a favourite port. They are diffuſed through every province of the kingdom; and by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, muſt encourage and add vivacity to the induſtry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports; it derives advantage likewiſe from what it receives in return, and has the proſpect of being ſoon able to ſupply itſelf with ſeveral commodities of extenſive conſumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The conſumption of ſugar in Spain is perhaps as great, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though poſſeſſed of countries in the New World, whoſe ſoil and climate are moſt proper for rearing the ſugar-cane; though the domeſtic culture of that valuable plant in the kingdom of Granada was once conſiderable; ſuch

ſuch has been the fatal tendency of ill-judged inſtitutions in America, and ſuch the preſſure of improper taxes in Europe, that Spain has loſt almoſt entirely this branch of induſtry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary neceſſity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchaſe of foreigners, and had the mortification to ſee their country drained annually of great ſums on that account[r]. But if that ſpirit, which the permiſſion of free trade has put in motion, ſhall perſevere in its efforts with the ſame vigour, the cultivation of ſugar in Cuba and Porto-Rico may increaſe ſo much, that in a few years, it is probable, that their growth of ſugars may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Free trade permitted between the colonies.

SPAIN has been induced, by her experience of the beneficial conſequences reſulting from having relaxed ſomewhat of the rigour of her ancient laws with reſpect to the commerce of the mother-country with the colonies, to permit a more liberal intercourſe of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old ſyſtem, all the provinces ſituated on the South Seas were prohibited, under the moſt

[r] Uztariz, c. 94.

ſevere

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ſevere penalties, from holding any communication with one another. Though each of theſe yield peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happineſs of their reſpective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progreſs in induſtry, ſo ſolicitous was the Council of the Indies to prevent their receiving any ſupply of their wants, but by the periodical fleets from Europe, that in order to guard againſt this, it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in the ſouthern provinces of New Spain, in Guatimala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from ſuch a correſpondence with their fellow ſubjects, as tended manifeſtly to their mutual proſperity. Of all the numerous reſtrictions deviſed by Spain for ſecuring the excluſive trade with her American ſettlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none ſeems to have been more ſenſibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coëval with the ſettlements of Spain in the countries ſituated on the Pacific Ocean, is at laſt redreſſed. In the year 1774, Charles III. publiſhed an edict, granting to the four great provinces which I have mentioned the privilege of a free trade with each other[s]. What may be the effects of

[s] Real Cedula penes me. Pontz Viage de Eſpagna, vi. Prologo. p. 2. NOTE XXIX.

opening this communication between countries deſtined by their ſituation for reciprocal intercourſe, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extenſive. The motives for granting this permiſſion are manifeſtly no leſs laudable, than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both diſcover the progreſs of a ſpirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which her ſyſtem for regulating the trade, and conducting the government of her colonies, was originally founded.

New regulations concerning the goverment of the colonies.

At the ſame time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, ſuggeſted by more enlarged views of policy, into her ſyſtem of American commerce, ſhe has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here too there was much room for reformation and improvement; and Don Joſeph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department for Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the beſt opportunities, not only of obſerving the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of diſcovering the ſources of thoſe evils. After being employed ſeven years in the New World on an extraordinary miſſion, and with very extenſive powers, as inſpector-general of New Spain; after

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after visiting in person the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making several important alterations in the state of the police and revenue; he began his ministry with a general reformation of the tribunals of justice in America. In consequence of the progress of population and wealth in the colonies, the business of the Courts of Audience has increased so much, that the number of judges of which they were originally composed has been found inadequate to the growing labours and duties of the office, and the salaries settled upon them have been deemed inferior to the dignity of the station. As a remedy for both, he obtained a royal edict, establishing an additional number of judges in each Court of Audience, with higher titles, and more ample appointments [t].

Reformation of the courts of justice.

New distribution of government.

To the same intelligent minister Spain is indebted for a new distribution of government in its American provinces. Even since the establishment of a third viceroyalty in the New kingdom of Granada, so great is the extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, that several places subject to the jurisdiction of each viceroy were at such an enormous distance from

[t] Gazeta de Madrid, 19th March 1776.

the

the capitals in which they reſided, that neither their attention, nor their authority, could reach ſo far. Some provinces ſubordinate to the viceroy of New Spain lay above two thouſand miles from Mexico. There were countries ſubject to the viceroy of Peru ſtill farther from Lima. The people in thoſe remote diſtricts could hardly be ſaid to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppreſſion and inſolence of its inferior miniſters they often feel, and rather ſubmit to theſe in ſilence, than involve themſelves in the expence and trouble of reſorting to the diſtant capitals, where alone they can find redreſs. As a remedy for this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected, to the juriſdiction of which are ſubjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potoſi, St^a Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well-judged arrangement, two advantages are gained. All the inconveniences occaſioned by the remote ſituation of thoſe provinces, which had been long felt, and long complained of, are, in a great meaſure, removed. The countries moſt diſtant from Lima are ſeparated from the viceroyalty of Peru, and united under a ſuperior, whoſe ſeat of government at Buenos-Ayres will be commodious and acceſſible. The contraband trade with the Portugueſe, which was become ſo extenſive,

New viceroyalty, Aug. 1776, on Rio de la Plata.

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extenſive, as muſt have put a final ſtop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her ſouthern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the ſupreme magiſtrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it is carried on, can view its progreſs and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raiſed to this new dignity, with appointments equal to thoſe of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the ſtate and the intereſt of the countries over which he is to preſide, having ſerved in them long, and with diſtinction. By this diſmemberment, ſucceeding that which took place at the erection of the viceroyalty of the New kingdom of Granada, almoſt two-third parts of the territories, originally ſubject to the viceroys of Peru, are now lopped off from their juriſdiction.

New government in provinces of Sonora, &c.

The limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewiſe been conſiderably circumſcribed, and with no leſs propriety and diſcernment. Four of its moſt remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a ſeparate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is entruſted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank; but his juriſdiction

jurisdiction is altogether independent on the viceroyalty of New Spain. The erection of this last government seems to have been suggested not only by the consideration of the remote situation of those provinces from Mexico; but by attention to the late discoveries made there which I have mentioned [u]. Countries containing the richest mines of gold that have hitherto been discovered in the New World, and which probably may arise into great importance, required the immediate inspection of a governor, to whom they should be specially committed. As every consideration of duty, of interest, and of vanity, must concur in prompting those new governors to encourage such exertions as tend to diffuse opulence and prosperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be considerable. Many districts in America, long depressed by the languor and feebleness natural to provinces which compose the extremities of an overgrown empire, may be animated with vigour and activity, when brought so near the seat of power as to feel its invigorating influence.

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Such, since the accession of the princes of the House of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, has

Attempts to reform domestic policy.

[u] Book vii.

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has been the progreſs of their regulations, and the gradual expanſion of their views with reſpect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been ſo entirely engroſſed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was ſtill more important, the reformation of domeſtic errors and defects in policy. Fully ſenſible of the cauſes to which the declenſion of Spain, from her former proſperity, ought to be imputed; they have made it a great object of their policy to revive a ſpirit of induſtry among their ſubjects, and to give ſuch extent and perfection to their manufactures, as may enable them to ſupply the demands of America from their own ſtock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been ſo fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavoured to accompliſh, by a variety of edicts iſſued ſince the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of ſome branches of induſtry; they have lowered the taxes on others, they have either entirely prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, ſuch foreign manufactures as come in competition with their own; they have inſtituted ſocieties for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of huſbandmen in ſome uncultivated diſtricts of Spain,

and

and divided among them the waſte fields; they have had recourſe to every expedient deviſed by commercial wiſdom, or commercial jealouſy, for reviving their own induſtry, and diſcountenancing that of other nations. Theſe, however, it is not my province to explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legiſlation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the ſpirit of induſtry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations, already poſſeſſed of extenſive commerce, enter into competition with ſuch advantages, derived from the large capitals and extenſive credit of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, the alertneſs acquired by habit in every department of buſineſs, that the ſtate which aims at rivalling or ſupplanting them, muſt expect to ſtruggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance ſlowly. If the quantity of productive induſtry, now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the laſt liſtleſs monarchs of the Auſtrian line, its progreſs muſt appear conſiderable, and is ſufficient to alarm the jealouſy, and to call forth the moſt vigorous efforts of the nations now in poſſeſſion of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wreſting from them. One circumſtance may render thoſe exertions of Spain

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an object of more ſerious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be aſcribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its miniſters. The ſentiments and ſpirit of the people ſeem to ſecond the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. The nation has adopted more liberal ideas, not only with reſpect to commerce, but domeſtic policy. In all the later Spaniſh writers, defects in the arrangements of their country concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies propoſed, which ignorance rendered their anceſtors incapable of diſcerning, and pride would not have allowed them to confeſs[x]. But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious inſtitutions and abuſes, deeply incorporated with the ſyſtem of internal policy and taxation, which has been long eſtabliſhed in Spain, muſt be aboliſhed before induſtry and manufactures can recover an extenſive activity.

Contraband trade.

STILL, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with reſpect to her colonies, are too rigid and ſyſtematical to be carried into complete execution. The legiſlature that loads trade with impoſitions too heavy, or fetters it by reſtrictions too ſevere, defeats its own in-

[x] See NOTE XXX.

tention,

tention, and is only multiplying the inducements to violate its ſtatutes, and propoſing an high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, being circumſcribed in their mutual intercourſe by the jealouſy of the crown, or oppreſſed by its exactions, have their invention continually on the ſtretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private intereſt diſcover means of effecting this, which public wiſdom cannot foreſee, nor public authority prevent. This ſpirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the higheſt departments in government, deſcends to the loweſt. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade, are often employed as inſtruments in carrying it on; and the boards inſtituted to reſtrain and puniſh it, are the channels through which it flows. The King is ſuppoſed, by the moſt intelligent Spaniſh writers, to be defrauded, by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America[y]; and as long as it is the intereſt of ſo many perſons to ſcreen thoſe artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How "many ordinances," ſays Corita, "how many

[y] Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. v.

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" inſtructions, how many letters from our ſo-
" vereign, are ſent in order to correct abuſes,
" and how little are they obſerved, and what
" ſmall advantage is derived from them! To
" me the old obſervation appears juſt, that
" where there are many phyſicians, and many
" medicines, there is a want of health; where
" there are many laws, and many judges,
" there is want of juſtice. We have viceroys,
" preſidents, governors, oydors, corrigidors,
" alcaldes, and thouſands of alguazils abound
" every where; but notwithſtanding all theſe,
" public abuſes continue to multiply[z]." Time has increaſed the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A ſpirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the ſeat of government; impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return ſpeedily from what they are apt to conſider as a ſtate of exile in a remote unhealthful country; allured by opportunities too tempting to be reſiſted, and ſeduced by the example of thoſe around them; find their ſentiments of honour and of duty gradually relax. In private life they give themſelves up to a diſſolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their ſovereign and to their country.

[z] MS. penes me.

Before

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Trade between New Spain and the Philippines.

BEFORE I close this account of the Spanish trade in America, there remains one detached, but important branch of it, to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands which had been neglected since the time of their discovery; and he accomplished it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain[a]. Manila, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippine islands under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation, the longest from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered the impropriety of fixing upon that as the port of communication with Manila, the staple of the commerce between the East and West was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain. 1564.

[a] Torquem. i. lib. v. c. 14.

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After various arrangements, it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ſhips depart annually from Acapulco, which are permitted to carry out ſilver to the amount of five hundred thouſand peſos[b]; but they have hardly any thing elſe of value on board; in return for which, they bring back ſpices, drugs, china, and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muſlins, ſilks, and every precious article with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, has enabled the Eaſt to ſupply the reſt of the world. For ſome time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might ſend annually a ſhip to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the veſſels from Manila, and receive a proportional ſhare of the commodities which they imported. At length, the Peruvians were excluded from this trade by moſt rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the Eaſt reſerved ſolely for the conſumption of New Spain.

In conſequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spaniſh colonies. The manufactures of the Eaſt are not only more ſuited to a warm climate, and more ſhowy than thoſe of Europe, but can be ſold at a lower

[b] Recop. lib. ix. c. 45. l. 6.

prices.

price; while, at the ſame time, the profits upon them are ſo conſiderable, as to enrich all thoſe who are employed, either in bringing them from Manila, or vending them in New Spain. As the intereſt both of the buyer and ſeller concurred in favouring this branch of commerce, it has continued to extend in ſpite of regulations concerted with the moſt anxious jealouſy to circumſcribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, great quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain [c]; and when the flota arrives at Vera Cruz from Europe, it often finds the wants of the people already ſupplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

THERE is not, in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumſtance more inexplicable than the permiſſion of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependance on the mother country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourſe that might ſuggeſt to them the idea of receiving a ſupply of their wants from any other quarter. This permiſſion muſt appear ſtill more extraordinary,

[c] See NOTE XXXI.

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from conſidering that Spain herſelf carries on no direct trade with her ſettlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies, which ſhe denies to her ſubjects in Europe. It is probable, that the coloniſts who originally took poſſeſſion of the Philippines, having been ſent out from New Spain, begun this intercourſe with a country which they conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as their parent ſtate, before the court of Madrid was aware of its conſequences, or could eſtabliſh regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonſtrances have been preſented againſt this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treaſure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give riſe to a ſpirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, againſt which it is impoſſible to guard, in tranſactions ſo far removed from the inſpection of government. But as it requires no ſlight effort of political wiſdom and vigour to aboliſh any practice which numbers are intereſted in ſupporting, and to which time has added the ſanction of its authority, the commerce between New Spain and Manila ſeems to be as conſiderable as ever, and may be conſidered as one chief cauſe of the elegance and ſplendour conſpicuous in this part of the Spaniſh dominions.

16. But

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Public revenue from America.

But notwithſtanding this general corruption in the colonies of Spain, and the diminution of the income belonging to the public, occaſioned by the illicit importations made by foreigners, as well as by the various frauds of which the coloniſts themſelves are guilty in their commerce with the parent ſtate, the Spaniſh monarchs receive a very conſiderable revenue from their American dominions. This ariſes from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three capital branches. The firſt contains what is paid to the King, as ſovereign, or ſuperior lord of the New World: to this claſs belongs the duty on the gold and ſilver raiſed from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of ſigniory*, the latter is the *duty of vaſſalage*. The ſecond branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppreſs it in every ſtep of its progreſs, from the greateſt tranſactions of the wholeſale merchant, to the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the King, as head of the church, and adminiſtrator of eccleſiaſtical funds in the New World. In conſequence of this he receives the firſt fruits, annates, ſpoils, and other ſpiritual revenues, levied by the apoſtolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled likewiſe to the profit ariſing from the ſale of the bull

of

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of Cruzado. This bull, which is publiſhed every two years, contains an abſolution from paſt offences by the Pope, and, among other immunities, a permiſſion to eat ſeveral kinds of prohibited food during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in diſperſing thoſe bulls extol their virtues with all the fervour of intereſted eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, liſten with implicit aſſent; and every perſon in the Spaniſh colonies, of European, Creolian or mixed race, purchaſes a bull, which is deemed eſſential to his ſalvation, at the rate ſet upon it by government [d].

Its amount.

WHAT may be the amount of thoſe various funds, it is almoſt impoſſible to determine with preciſion. The extent of the Spaniſh dominions in America, the jealouſy of government, which renders them inacceſſible to foreigners, the myſterious ſilence which the Spaniards are accuſtomed to obſerve with reſpect to the interior ſtate of their colonies, combine in covering this ſubject with a veil, which it is not eaſy to remove. But an account, apparently no leſs accurate than it is curious, has lately been publiſhed of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form ſome idea with reſpect to what is collected in the other pro-

[d] See NOTE XXXII.

vinces. According to that account, the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain above a million of our money, from which one half muſt be deducted as the expence of the provincial eſtabliſhment[e]. Peru, it is probable, yields a ſum not inferior to this; and if we ſuppoſe that all the other regions of America, including the iſlands, furniſh a third ſhare of equal value, we ſhall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if we conclude, that the net public revenue of Spain, raiſed in America, does not exceed a million and a half ſterling. This falls far ſhort of the immenſe ſums to which ſuppoſitions, founded upon conjecture, have raiſed the Spaniſh revenue in America[f]. It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers, who derive a direct revenue from their colonies. All the advantage that accrues to other nations, from their American dominions, ariſes from the excluſive enjoyment of their trade; but beſide this, Spain has brought her colonies to contribute towards increaſing the power of the ſtate; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional ſhare of the common burden.

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[e] See NOTE XXXIII. [f] See NOTE XXXIV.

ACCORD-

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ACCORDINGLY, the ſum which I have computed to be the amount of the Spaniſh revenue from America, ariſes wholly from the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the King from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties impoſed on the commodities exported from Spain to America[g], as well as what is paid by thoſe which ſhe ſends home in return; the tax upon the negro-ſlaves, with which Africa ſupplies the New World, together with ſeveral ſmaller branches of finance, bring large ſums into the treaſury, the preciſe extent of which I cannot pretend to aſcertain.

Expence of adminiſtration.

BUT if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expence of adminiſtration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domeſtic police and finances, Spain has adopted a ſyſtem more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals, and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation, in which the ſovereign poſſeſſes ſuch extenſive power. From the jealous ſpirit with which Spain watches over her American ſettlements, and her endeavours to guard againſt fraud in provinces

[g] See NOTE XXXV.

ſo

ſo remote from inſpection; boards and officers have been multiplied there with ſtill more anxious attention. In a country where the expence of living is great, the ſalaries allotted to every perſon in public office muſt be high, and muſt load the revenue with an immenſe burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the New Kingdom of Granada, as repreſentatives of the King's perſon, among people fond of oſtentation, maintain all the ſtate and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horſe and foot guards, a houſehold regularly eſtabliſhed, numerous attendants, and enſigns of power, diſplaying ſuch pomp, as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expence incurred by ſupporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have beſides peculiar appointments ſuited to their exalted ſtation. The ſalaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate; that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thouſand ducats; and that of the viceroy of Mexico, twenty thouſand ducats[h]. Of late they have been raiſed to forty thouſand.

[h] Recop. lib. iii. tit. iii. c. 72.

THESE

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THESE ſalaries, however, conſtitute but a ſmall part of the revenue enjoyed by the viceroys. The exerciſe of an abſolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of diſpoſing of many lucrative offices, afford them many opportunities of accumulating wealth. To theſe, which may be conſidered as legal and allowed emoluments, large ſums are often added by exactions, which, in countries ſo far removed from the ſeat of government, it is not eaſy to diſcover, and impoſſible to reſtrain. By monopolizing ſome branches of commerce by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raiſe ſuch an annual revenue, as no ſubject of any European monarch enjoys[1]. From the ſingle article of preſents made to him on the anniverſary of his *Name-day* (which is always obſerved as an high feſtival), I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive ſixty thouſand peſos. According to a Spaniſh ſaying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conſcience. Senſible of this, the Kings of Spain, as I have formerly obſerved, grant a commiſſion to their viceroys only for a few

[1] See NOTE XXXVI.

years,

years. This circumſtance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is haſtening faſt to a period; and ſhort as its duration is, it uſually affords ſufficient time for repairing a ſhattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in ſituations ſo trying to human frailty, there are inſtances of virtue that remains unſeduced. In the year 1772, the Marquis de Croix finiſhed the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unſuſpected integrity; and inſtead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applauſe of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOKS IX. AND X.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,

TO THE YEAR 1688; AND

THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND,

TO THE YEAR 1652.

VOL. IV.

THE original plan of my Father, the late Dr. Robertſon, with reſpect to the Hiſtory of America, comprehended not only an account of the diſcovery of that country, and of the conqueſts and colonies of the Spaniards, but embraced alſo the hiſtory of the Britiſh and Portugueſe Eſtabliſhments in the New World, and of the Settlements made by the ſeveral nations of Europe in the Weſt India Iſlands. It was his intention not to have publiſhed any part of the Work until the whole was completed. In the Preface to his Hiſtory of America, he has ſtated the reaſons which induced him to depart from that reſolution, and to publiſh the Two Volumes which contain an account of the diſcovery of the New World, and of the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms and colonies in that quarter of the globe. He ſays, "he had made ſome progreſs in the Hiſtory of Britiſh America;" and he announces his intention to return to that part of his Work, as ſoon as the ferment which at that time prevailed in the Britiſh Colonies in America ſhould ſubſide, and regular government be re-eſtabliſhed. Various cauſes concurred in preventing him from fulfilling his intention.

DURING the courſe of a tedious illneſs, which he early foreſaw would have a fatal termination, Dr. Robertſon at different times deſtroyed many of his papers. But after his death, I found that part of the Hiſtory of Britiſh America which he had wrote many years before, and which is now offered to the Public. It is written with his own hand, as all his Works were; it is as carefully corrected as any part of his Manuſcripts which I have ever ſeen; and he had thought it worthy of being preſerved, as it eſcaped the flames to which ſo many other papers had been committed. I read it with the utmoſt attention; but, before I came to any reſolution about the publication, I put the MS. into the hands of ſome of thoſe friends whom my Father uſed to conſult on ſuch occaſions, as it would have been raſhneſs and preſumption in me to have truſted to my own partial deciſion. It was peruſed by ſome other perſons alſo, in whoſe taſte and judgment I have the greateſt confidence: by all of them I was encouraged to offer it to the Public, as a fragment curious and intereſting in itſelf, and not inferior to any of my Father's Works.

WHEN I determined to follow that advice, it was a circumſtance of great weight with me, that as I never could think myſelf at liberty to deſtroy

deſtroy thoſe Papers, which my Father had thought worthy of being preſerved, and as I could not know into whoſe hands they might hereafter fall, I conſidered it as certain that they would be publiſhed at ſome future period, when they might meet with an Editor who, not being actuated by the ſame ſacred regard for the reputation of the Author, which I feel, might make alterations and additions, and obtrude the whole on the Public as a genuine and authentic work. The MS. is now publiſhed, ſuch as it was left by the Author; nor have I preſumed to make any addition, alteration, or correction whatever.

WM. ROBERTSON.

QUEEN-STREET, EDINBURGH,
April 1796.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK IX.

THE dominions of Great Britain in America are next in extent to thoſe of Spain. Its acquiſitions there are a recompence due to thoſe enterpriſing talents which prompted the Engliſh to enter early on the career of diſcovery, and to purſue it with perſevering ardour. England was the ſecond nation that ventured to viſit the New World. The account of Columbus's ſucceſsful voyage filled all Europe with aſtoniſhment and admiration. But in England it did ſomething more; it excited a vehement deſire of emulating the glory of Spain, and of aiming to obtain ſome ſhare in thoſe advantages which were expected in this new field opened to national activity.

BOOK IX.

Spirit of adventure awakened in England by Columbus's diſcoveries;

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The attention of the Engliſh court had been turned towards the diſcovery of unknown countries, by its negociation with Bartholomew Columbus. Henry VII. having liſtened to his propoſitions with a more favourable ear than could have been expected from a cautious, diſtruſtful prince, averſe by habit as well as by temper to new and hazardous projects, he was more eaſily induced to approve of a voyage for diſcovery, propoſed by ſome of his own ſubjects, ſoon after the return of Chriſtopher Columbus.

checked by unſkilfulneſs in navigation;

But though the Engliſh had ſpirit to form the ſcheme, they had not, at that period, attained to ſuch ſkill in navigation as qualified them for carrying it into execution. From the inconſiderate ambition of its monarchs, the nation had long waſted its genius and activity in pernicious and ineffectual efforts to conquer France. When this ill-directed ardour began to abate, the fatal conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter turned the arms of one half of the kingdom againſt the other, and exhauſted the vigour of both. During the courſe of two centuries, while induſtry and commerce were making gradual progreſs, both in the ſouth and north of Europe, the Engliſh continued ſo blind to the advantages of their own ſituation, that they hardly began to bend their

their thoughts towards thoſe objects and purſuits, to which they are indebted for their preſent opulence and power. While the trading veſſels of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as thoſe of the Hans Towns, viſited the moſt remote ports in Europe, and carried on an active intercourſe with its various nations, the Engliſh did little more than creep along their own coaſts, in ſmall barks, which conveyed the productions of one country to another. Their commerce was almoſt wholly paſſive. Their wants were ſupplied by ſtrangers; and whatever neceſſary or luxury of life their own country did not yield, was imported in foreign bottoms. The croſs of St. George was ſeldom diſplayed beyond the precincts of the narrow ſeas. Hardly any Engliſh ſhip traded with Spain or Portugal before the beginning of the fifteenth century; and half a century more elapſed before the Engliſh mariners became ſo adventurous as to enter the Miditerranean.

Expedition from Briſtol, under the command of Cabot.

In this infancy of navigation, Henry could not commit the conduct of an armament, deſtined to explore unknown regions, to his own ſubjects. He inveſted Giovanni Gaboto, a Venetian adventurer, who had ſettled in Briſtol, with the chief command; and iſſued a commiſſion to him and his three ſons, empowering

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powering them to ſail, under the banner of England, towards the eaſt, north, or weſt, in order to diſcover countries unoccupied by any Chriſtian ſtate; to take poſſeſſion of them in his name, and to carry on an excluſive trade with the inhabitants, under condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit on every voyage to the crown. This commiſſion was granted on March 5th, 1495, in leſs than two years after the return of Columbus from America[a]. But Cabot (for that is the name he aſſumed in England, and by which he is beſt known) did not ſet out on his voyage for two years. He, together with his ſecond ſon Sebaſtian, embarked at Briſtol, on board a ſhip furniſhed by the King, and was accompanied by four ſmall barks, fitted out by the merchants of that city.

1497. May.

Cabot diſcovers Newfoundland, and ſails along the coaſt of Virginia.

As in that age the moſt eminent navigators, formed by the inſtructions of Columbus, or animated by his example, were guided by ideas derived from his ſuperior knowledge and experience, Cabot had adopted the ſyſtem of that great man, concerning the probability of opening a new and ſhorter paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, by holding a weſtern courſe. The opinion which Columbus had formed with reſpect to the iſlands

[a] Hackluyt, iii. 4.

which he had discovered, was universally received. They were supposed to lie contiguous to the great continent of India, and to constitute a part of the vast countries comprehended under that general name. Cabot accordingly deemed it probable, that, by steering to the north-west, he might reach India by a shorter course than that which Columbus had taken, and hoped to fall in with the coast of Cathay, or China, of whose fertility and opulence the descriptions of Marco Polo had excited high ideas. After sailing for some weeks due west, and nearly on the parallel of the port from which he took his departure, he discovered a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, and his sailors *Newfoundland;* and in a few days he descried a smaller isle, to which he gave the name of St. John. He landed on June 24. both these, made some observations on their soil and productions, and brought off three of the natives. Continuing his course westward, he soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the fifty-sixth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, from the coast of Labrador, to that of Virginia. As his chief object was to discover some inlet that might open a passage to the west, it does not appear that he landed anywhere during this extensive run; and he returned to England without attempting either

settlement

BOOK IX. settlement or conqueſt in any part of that continent[b].

Henry does not profit by Cabot's diſcovery;

If it had been Henry's purpoſe to proſecute the object of the commiſſion given by him to Cabot, and to take poſſeſſion of the countries which he had diſcovered, the ſucceſs of this voyage muſt have anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations. His ſubjects were undoubtedly the firſt Europeans who had viſited that part of the American continent, and were entitled to whatever right of property prior diſcovery is ſuppoſed to confer. Countries which ſtretched in an uninterrupted courſe through ſuch a large portion of the temperate zone, opened a proſpect of ſettling to advantage under mild climates, and in a fertile ſoil. But by the time that Cabot returned to England, he found both the ſtate of affairs and the King's inclination unfavourable to any ſcheme, the execution of which would have required tranquillity and leiſure. Henry was involved in a war with Scotland, and his kingdom was not yet fully compoſed after the commotion excited by a formidable inſurrection of his own ſubjects in the weſt. An ambaſſador from Ferdinand of Arragon was then in London; and as Henry ſet a high value

[b] Monſon's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collect. iii. 211.

upon

upon the friendſhip of that monarch, for whoſe character he profeſſed much admiration, perhaps from its ſimilarity to his own, and was endeavouring to ſtrengthen their union by negociating the marriage which afterwards took place between his eldeſt ſon and the Princeſs Catharine, he was cautious of giving any offence to a prince jealous to exceſs of all his rights. From the poſition of the iſlands and continent which Cabot had diſcovered, it was evident that they lay within the limits of the ample donative which the bounty of Alexander VI. had conferred upon Ferdinand and Iſabella. No perſon, in that age, queſtioned the validity of a papal grant; and Ferdinand was not of a temper to relinquiſh any claim to which he had a ſhadow of title. Submiſſion to the authority of the Pope, and deference for an ally whom he courted, ſeem to have concurred with Henry's own ſituation, in determining him to abandon a ſcheme, in which he had engaged with ſome degree of ardour and expectation. No attempt towards diſcovery was made in England during the remainder of his reign; and Sebaſtian Cabot, finding no encouragement for his active talents there, entered into the ſervice of Spain[c].

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THIS

[c] Some ſchemes of diſcovery ſeem to have been formed in England towards the beginning of the ſixteenth century. But

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nor his immediate ſucceſſors.

THIS is the moſt probable account of the ſudden ceſſation of Henry's activity, after ſuch ſucceſs in his firſt eſſay as might have encouraged him to perſevere. The advantages of commerce, as well as its nature, were ſo little underſtood in England about this period, that by an act of parliament in the year 1488, the taking of intereſt for the uſe of money was prohibited under ſevere penalties [d]. And by another law, the profit ariſing from dealing in bills of exchange was condemned as favouring of uſury [e]. It is not ſurpriſing then, that no great effort ſhould be made to extend trade, by a nation whoſe commercial ideas were ſtill ſo crude and illiberal. But it is more difficult to diſcover what prevented this ſcheme of Henry VII. from being reſumed during the reigns of his ſon and grandſon; and to give any reaſon why no attempt was made, either to explore the northern continent of America

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But as there is no other memorial of them, than what remains in a patent granted by the King to the adventurers, it is probable that they were feeble or abortive projects. If any attempt had been made in conſequence of this patent, it would not have eſcaped the knowledge of a compiler ſo induſtrious and inquiſitive as Hakluyt. In his patent, Henry reſtricts the adventurers from encroaching on the countries diſcovered by the Kings of Portugal, or any other Prince in confederacy with England. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 37.

[d] 3 Hen. VII. c. 5. [e] 3 Hen. VII. c. 6.

more

more fully, or to ſettle in it. Henry VIII. was frequently at open enmity with Spain: the value of the Spaniſh acquiſitions in America had become ſo well known, as might have excited his deſire to obtain ſome footing in thoſe opulent regions; and during a conſiderable part of his reign, the prohibitions in a papal bull would not have reſtrained him from making encroachment upon the Spaniſh dominions. But the reign of Henry was not favourable to the progreſs of diſcovery. During one period of it, the active part which he took in the affairs of the continent, and the vigour with which he engaged in the conteſt between the two mighty rivals, Charles V. and Francis I., gave full occupation to the enterpriſing ſpirit both of the King and of his nobility. During another period of his adminiſtration, his famous controverſy with the court of Rome kept the nation in perpetual agitation and ſuſpenſe. Engroſſed by thoſe objects, neither the King nor the nobles had inclination or leiſure to turn their attention to new purſuits; and without their patronage and aid, the commercial part of the nation was too inconſiderable to make any effort of conſequence. Though England, by its total ſeparation from the church of Rome, ſoon after the acceſſion of Edward VI. diſclaimed that authority which,

by

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by its presumptuous partition of the globe between two favourite nations, circumscribed the activity of every other state within very narrow limits, yet a feeble minority, distracted with faction, was not a juncture for forming schemes of doubtful success, and remote utility. The bigotry of Mary, and her marriage with Philip, disposed her to pay a sacred regard to that grant of the Holy See, which vested in a husband, on whom she doated, an exclusive right to every part of the New World. Thus, through a singular succession of various causes, sixty-one years elapsed from the time that the English discovered North America, during which their monarchs gave little attention to that country which was destined to be annexed to their crown, and to be a chief source of its opulence and power.

Expedition to South America, under the command of Sebastian Cabot.

But though the public contributed little towards the progress of discovery, naval skill, knowledge of commerce, and a spirit of enterprize, began to spread among the English. During the reign of Henry VIII. several new channels of trade were opened, and private adventurers visited remote countries, with which England had formerly no intercourse. Some merchants of Bristol, having fitted out two ships for the southern regions of America, committed

the conduct of them to Sebastian Cabot, who had quitted the service of Spain. He visited the coasts of Brasil, and touched at the islands of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico; and though this voyage seems not to have been beneficial to the adventurers, it extended the sphere of English navigation, and added to the national stock of nautical science[f]. Though disappointed in their expectations of profit in this first essay, the merchants were not discouraged. They sent, successively, several vessels from different ports towards the same quarter, and seem to have carried on an interloping trade in the Portuguese settlements with success[g]. Nor was it only towards the West, that the activity of the English was directed. Other merchants began to extend their commercial views to the East; and by establishing an intercourse with several islands in the Archipelago, and with some of the towns on the coast of Syria, they found a new market for woollen cloths, (the only manufacture which the nation had begun to cultivate,) and supplied their countrymen with various productions of the East, formerly unknown, or received from the Venetians at an exorbitant price[h].

BOOK IX. 1516.

[f] Hakluyt, iii. 498.
[g] Ibid. iii. 700.
[h] Hakluyt, ii. 96, &c.

BOOK IX.

Unſucceſsful attempts to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Indies.

BUT the diſcovery of a ſhorter paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, by the north-weſt, was ſtill the favourite project of the nation, which beheld with envy the vaſt wealth that flowed into Portugal, from its commerce with thoſe regions. The ſcheme was accordingly twice reſumed under the long adminiſtration of Henry VIII.; firſt, with ſome ſlender aid from the King, and then by private merchants. Both voyages were diſaſtrous and unſucceſsful. In the former, one of the ſhips was loſt. In the latter, the ſtock of proviſions was ſo ill-proportioned to the number of the crew, that although they were but ſix months at ſea, many periſhed with hunger, and the ſurvivors were conſtrained to ſupport life by feeding on the bodies of their dead companions[i].

1527 and 1536.

Sir Hugh Willoughby fails in ſearch of a north-eaſt paſſage.

THE vigour of a commercial ſpirit did not relax in the reign of Edward VI. The great fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland became an object of attention; and from ſome regulations for the encouragement of that branch of trade, it ſeems to have been proſecuted with activity and ſucceſs[k]. But the proſpect of opening a communication with China and the Spice Iſlands, by ſome other route than round

[i] Hakluyt, i. 213, &c. iii. 129, 130.
[k] Ibid. iii. 131.

the Cape of Good Hope, ſtill continued to allure the Engliſh, more than any ſcheme of adventure. Cabot, whoſe opinion was deſervedly of high authority in whatever related to naval enterprize, warmly urged the Engliſh to make another attempt to diſcover this paſſage: As it had been thrice ſearched for in vain; by ſteering towards the north-weſt, he propoſed that a trial ſhould now be made by the north-eaſt; and ſupported this advice by ſuch plauſible reaſons and conjectures, as excited ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. Several noblemen and perſons of rank, together with ſome principal merchants, having aſſociated for this purpoſe, were incorporated, by a charter from the King, under the title of The Company of Merchant Adventurers for the Diſcovery of Regions, Dominions, Iſlands, and Places unknown. Cabot, who was appointed governor of this company, ſoon fitted out two ſhips and a bark, furniſhed with inſtructions in his own hand, which diſcover the great extent both of his naval ſkill and mercantile ſagacity. 1553.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, who was entruſted with the command, ſtood directly northwards along the coaſt of Norway, and doubled the North Cape. But in that tempeſtuous ocean, his ſmall ſquadron was ſeparated in a violent May 10.

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ſtorm. Willoughby's ſhip and the bark took refuge in an obſcure harbour in a deſert part of Ruſſian Lapland, where he and all his companions were frozen to death. Richard Chancelour, the captain of the other veſſel, was more fortunate; he entered the White Sea, and wintered in ſafety, at Archangel. Though no veſſel of any foreign nation had ever viſited that quarter of the globe before, the inhabitants received their new viſitors with an hoſpitality which would have done honour to a more poliſhed people. The Engliſh learned there, that this was a province of a vaſt empire, ſubject to the Great Duke or Czar of Muſcovy, who reſided in a great city twelve hundred miles from Archangel. Chancelour, with a ſpirit becoming an officer employed in an expedition for diſcovery, did not heſitate a moment about the part which he ought to take, and ſet out for that diſtant capital. On his arrival in Moſcow, he was admitted to audience, and delivered a letter which the captain of each ſhip had received from Edward VI. for the ſovereign of whatever country they ſhould diſcover, to John Vaſilowitz, who at that time filled the Ruſſian throne. John, though he ruled over his ſubjects with the cruelty and caprice of a barbarous deſpot, was not deſtitute of political ſagacity. He inſtantly perceived the happy

Willoughby periſhes. One of his ſhips winters at Archangel.

The captain viſits Moſcow.

happy conſequences that might flow from opening an intercourſe between his dominions and the weſtern nations of Europe; and, delighted with the fortunate event to which he was indebted for this unexpected benefit, he treated Chancelour with great reſpect; and, by a letter to the King of England, invited his ſubjects to trade in the Ruſſian dominions, with ample promiſes of protection and favour[1]. BOOK IX. Feb. 1554.

Chancelour, on his return, found Mary ſeated on the Engliſh throne. The ſucceſs of this voyage, the diſcovery of a new courſe of navigation, the eſtabliſhment of commerce with a vaſt empire, the name of which was then hardly known in the Weſt, and the hope of arriving, in this direction, at thoſe regions which had been ſo long the object of deſire, excited a wonderful ardour to proſecute the deſign with greater vigour. Mary, implicitly guided by her huſband in every act of adminiſtration, was not unwilling to turn the commercial activity of her ſubjects towards a quarter where it could not excite the jealouſy of Spain, by encroaching on its poſſeſſions in the New World. She wrote to John Vaſilowitz in the moſt reſpectful terms, courting his friendſhip. She confirmed the charter of Trade opened with Ruſſia.

[1] Hakluyt, i. 226, &c.

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Edward VI., empowered Chancelour, and two agents appointed by the company, to negociate with the Czar in her name; and according to the ſpirit of that age, ſhe granted an excluſive right of trade with Ruſſia to the Corporation of Merchant Adventurers [m]. In virtue of this, they not only eſtabliſhed an active and gainful commerce with Ruſſia, but, in hopes of reaching China, they puſhed their diſcoveries eaſtwards to the coaſt of Nova Zembla, the Straits of Waigatz, and towards the mouth of the great river Oby. But in thoſe frozen ſeas, which Nature ſeems not to have deſtined for navigation, they were expoſed to innumerable diſaſters, and met with ſucceſſive diſappointments.

Communication with India by land.

Nor were their attempts to open a communication with India made only in this channel. They appointed ſome of their factors to accompany the Ruſſian caravans which travelled into Perſia by the way of Aſtracan and the Caſpian Sea, inſtructing them to penetrate as far as poſſible towards the eaſt, and to endeavour, not only to eſtabliſh a trade with thoſe countries, but to acquire every information that might afford any light towards the diſcovery of a paſſage to China by the north-eaſt [n].

[m] Hakluyt, i. 258, &c.

[n] Hakluyt, i. 301.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding a variety of dangers to which they were expoſed in travelling through ſo many provinces, inhabited by fierce and licentious nations, ſome of theſe factors reached Bokara, in the province of Choraſan; and though prevented from advancing farther by the civil wars which deſolated the country, they returned to Europe with ſome hopes of extending the commerce of the Company into Perſia, and with much intelligence concerning the ſtate of thoſe remote regions of the eaſt [o].

Expedition to the coaſt of Africa.

THE ſucceſsful progreſs of the Merchant Adventurers in diſcovery rouſed the emulation of their countrymen, and turned their activity into new channels. A commercial intercourſe, hitherto unattempted by the Engliſh, having been opened with the coaſt of Barbary, the ſpecimens which that afforded of the valuable productions of Africa invited ſome enterpriſing navigators to viſit the more remote provinces of that quarter of the globe. They ſailed along its weſtern ſhore, traded in different ports on both ſides of the Line, and after acquiring conſiderable knowledge of thoſe countries, returned with a cargo of gold-duſt, ivory, and other rich commodities,

[o] Hakluyt, i. 310, &c.

BOOK IX.

little known at that time in England. This commerce with Africa ſeems to have been purſued with vigour, and was at that time no leſs innocent than lucrative; for as the Engliſh had then no demand for ſlaves, they carried it on for many years, without violating the rights of humanity. Thus far did the Engliſh advance during a period which may be conſidered as the infant ſtate of their navigation and commerce; and feeble as its ſteps at that time may appear to us, we trace them with an intereſting curioſity, and look back with ſatisfaction to the early eſſays of that ſpirit which we now behold in the full maturity of its ſtrength. Even in thoſe firſt efforts of the Engliſh, an intelligent obſerver will diſcern preſages of their future improvement. As ſoon as the activity of the nation was put in motion, it took various directions, and exerted itſelf in each with that ſteady, perſevering induſtry, which is the ſoul and guide of commerce. Neither diſcouraged by the hardſhips and dangers to which they were expoſed in thoſe northern ſeas which they firſt attempted to explore, nor afraid of venturing into the ſultry climates of the torrid zone, the Engliſh, during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, opened ſome of the moſt conſiderable ſources of their commercial

commercial opulence, and gave a beginning to their trade with Turkey, with Africa, with Ruſſia, and with Newfoundland. BOOK IX.

By the progreſs which England had already made in navigation and commerce, it was now prepared for advancing farther; and on the acceſſion of Elizabeth to the throne, a period commenced extremely auſpicious to this ſpirit which was riſing in the nation. The domeſtic tranquillity of the kingdom, maintained, almoſt without interruption, during the courſe of a long and proſperous reign; the peace with foreign nations, that ſubſiſted more than twenty years after Elizabeth was ſeated on the throne; the Queen's attentive economy, which exempted her ſubjects from the burden of taxes oppreſſive to trade; the popularity of her adminiſtration; were all favourable to commercial enterpriſe, and called it forth into vigorous exertion. The diſcerning eye of Elizabeth having early perceived that the ſecurity of a kingdom, environed by the ſea, depended on its naval force, ſhe began her government with adding to the number and ſtrength of the royal navy; which, during a factious minority, and a reign intent on no object but that of ſuppreſſing hereſy, had been neglected, and ſuffered to decay. She Reign of Elizabeth auſpicious to diſcovery.

filled

BOOK IX. filled her arſenals with naval ſtores; ſhe built ſeveral ſhips of great force, according to the ideas of that age, and encouraged her ſubjects to imitate her example, that they might no longer depend on foreigners from whom the Engliſh had hitherto purchaſed all veſſels of any conſiderable burden[p]. By thoſe efforts the ſkill of the Engliſh artificers was improved, the number of ſailors increaſed, and the attention of the public turned to the navy, as the moſt important national object. Inſtead of abandoning any of the new channels of commerce which had been opened in the three preceding reigns, the Engliſh frequented them with greater aſſiduity, and the patronage of their ſovereign added vigour to all their efforts. In order to ſecure to them the continuance of their excluſive trade with Ruſſia, Elizabeth cultivated the connection with John Vaſilowitz, which had been formed by her predeceſſor, and, by ſucceſſive embaſſies, gained his confidence ſo thoroughly, that the Engliſh enjoyed that lucrative privilege during his long reign. She encouraged the Company of Merchant Adventurers, whoſe monopoly of the Ruſſian trade was confirmed by act of parliament[q], to reſume their deſign of penetrating

[p] Camd. Annales, p. 70. edit. 1615; fol.
[q] Hackluyt, i. 369.

trating into Perſia by land. Their ſecond attempt, conducted with greater prudence, or undertaken at a more favourable juncture than the firſt, was more ſucceſsful. Their agents arrived in the Perſian court, and obtained ſuch protection and immunities from the Shah, that for a courſe of years they carried on a gainful commerce in his kingdom[r]; and by frequenting the various provinces of Perſia, became ſo well acquainted with the vaſt riches of the Eaſt, as ſtrengthened their deſign of opening a more direct intercourſe with thoſe fertile regions by ſea. 1562.

Frobiſher makes three attempts to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage.

But as every effort to accompliſh this by the north-eaſt had proved abortive, a ſcheme was formed, under the patronage of the Earl of Warwick, the head of the enterpriſing family of Dudley, to make a new attempt, by holding an oppoſite courſe by the north-weſt. The conduct of this enterpriſe was committed to Martin Frobiſher, an officer of experience and reputation. In three ſucceſſive voyages he explored the inhoſpitable coaſt of Labrador, and that of Greenland (to which Elizabeth gave the name of *Meta Incognita*), without diſcovering any probable appearance of that paſſage to India for which he ſought. This new diſ- 1576. 1577, and 1578.

[r] Hackluyt, i. 344, &c.

appointment

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Sir Francis Drake ſails round the world.

appointment was ſenſibly felt, and might have damped the ſpirit of naval enterpriſe among the Engliſh, if it had not reſumed freſh vigour, amidſt the general exultation of the nation, upon the ſucceſsful expedition of Francis Drake. That bold navigator, emulous of the glory which Magellan had acquired by ſailing round the globe, formed a ſcheme of attempting a voyage, which all Europe had admired for ſixty years, without venturing to follow the Portugueſe diſcoverer in his adventurous courſe. Drake undertook this with a feeble ſquadron, in which the largeſt veſſel did not exceed a hundred tons, and he accompliſhed it with no leſs credit to himſelf, than honour to his country. Even in this voyage, conducted with other views, Drake ſeems not to have been inattentive to the favourite object of his countrymen, the diſcovery of a new route to India. Before he quitted the Pacific Ocean, in order to ſtretch towards the Philippine iſlands, he ranged along the coaſt of California, as high as the latitude of forty-two degrees north, in hopes of diſcovering, on that ſide, the communication between the two ſeas, which had ſo often been ſearched for in vain on the other. But this was the only unſucceſsful attempt of Drake. The exceſſive cold of the climate, intolerable to men who had long been

accuſ-

accuſtomed to tropical heat, obliged him to ſtop ſhort in his progreſs towards the north; and whether or not there be any paſſage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean in that quarter is a point ſtill unaſcertained[s]. BOOK IX.

Enthuſiaſm of diſcovery.

FROM this period, the Engliſh ſeem to have confided in their own abilities and courage, as equal to any naval enterprize. They had now viſited every region to which navigation extended in that age, and had rivalled the nation of higheſt repute for naval ſkill in its moſt ſplendid exploit. But notwithſtanding the knowledge which they had acquired of the different quarters of the globe, they had not hitherto attempted any ſettlement out of their own country. Their merchants had not yet acquired ſuch a degree, either of wealth or of political influence, as were requiſite towards carrying a ſcheme of colonization into execution. Perſons of noble birth were deſtitute of the ideas and information which might have diſpoſed them to patronize ſuch a deſign. The growing power of Spain, however, and the aſcendant over the other nations of Europe to which it had attained under Charles V. and his ſon, naturally turned the attention of mankind towards the importance of thoſe ſettlements in the New World, to which they were ſo much

[s] Hakluyt, iii. 440. Camd. Annal. 301, &c.

BOOK IX.

much indebted for that pre-eminence. The intercourſe between Spain and England, during the reign of Philip and Mary; the reſort of the Spaniſh nobility to the Engliſh court, while Philip reſided there; the ſtudy of the Spaniſh language, which became faſhionable; and the tranſlation of ſeveral hiſtories of America into Engliſh, diffuſed gradually through the nation a more diſtinct knowledge of the policy of Spain in planting its colonies, and of the advantages which it derived from them. When hoſtilities commenced between Elizabeth and Philip, the proſpect of annoying Spain by ſea opened a new career to the enterpriſing ſpirit of the Engliſh nobility. Almoſt every eminent leader of the age aimed at diſtinguiſhing himſelf by naval exploits. That ſervice, and the ideas connected with it, the diſcovery of unknown countries, the eſtabliſhment of diſtant colonies, and the enriching of commerce by new commodities, became familiar to perſons of rank.

Firſt project of a colony in North America.

In conſequence of all thoſe concurring cauſes, the Engliſh began ſeriouſly to form plans of ſettling colonies in thoſe parts of America, which hitherto they had only viſited. The projectors and patrons of theſe plans were moſtly perſons of rank and influence. Among them, Sir Humphry Gilbert, of Compton in Devon-

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ſhire, ought to be mentioned with the diſtinction due to the conductor of the firſt Engliſh colony to America. He had early rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his military ſervices both in France and Ireland; and having afterwards turned his attention to naval affairs, he publiſhed a diſcourſe concerning the probability of a north-weſt paſſage, which diſcovered no inconſiderable portion both of learning and ingenuity, mingled with the enthuſiaſm, the credulity, and ſanguine expectations which incite men to new and hazardous undertakings[t]. With thoſe talents he was deemed a proper perſon to be employed in eſtabliſhing a new colony, and eaſily obtained from the Queen letters patent, veſting in him ſufficient powers for this purpoſe.

June 11, 1578.

Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth.

As this is the firſt charter to a colony, granted by the crown of England, the articles in it merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age, with reſpect to the nature of ſuch ſettlements. Elizabeth authoriſes him to diſcover and take poſſeſſion of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Chriſtian prince or people. She veſts in him, his heirs and aſſigns for ever, the full right of property in the ſoil of thoſe countries whereof he ſhall take poſſeſſion. She permits

[t] Hakluyt, iii. 11.

ſuch

BOOK IX. ſuch of her ſubjects as were willing to accompany Gilbert in his voyage, to go and ſettle in the countries which he ſhall plant. She empowers him, his heirs and aſſigns, to diſpoſe of whatever portion of thoſe lands he ſhall judge meet to perſons ſettled there, in fee-ſimple, according to the laws of England. She ordains, that all the lands granted to Gilbert ſhall hold of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or ſilver ore found there. She confers upon him, his heirs and aſſigns, the complete juriſdictions and royalties, as well marine as other, within the ſaid lands and ſeas thereunto adjoining; and as their common ſafety and intereſt would render good government neceſſary in their new ſettlements, ſhe gave Gilbert, his heirs and aſſigns, full power to convict, puniſh, pardon, govern and rule, by their good diſcretion and policy, as well in cauſes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all perſons who ſhall, from time to time, ſettle within the ſaid countries, according to ſuch ſtatutes, laws, and ordinances, as ſhall be by him, his heirs and aſſigns, deviſed and eſtabliſhed for their better government. She declared, that all who ſettled there ſhould have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and natives of England, any law, cuſtom, or uſage

to

to the contrary notwithſtanding. And finally, ſhe prohibited all perſons from attempting to ſettle within two hundred leagues of any place which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or his aſſociates, ſhall have occupied, during the ſpace of ſix years[u]. BOOK IX.

With thoſe extraordinary powers, ſuited to the high notions of authority and prerogative prevalent in England during the ſixteenth century, but very repugnant to more recent ideas with reſpect to the rights of free men, who voluntarily unite to form a colony, Gilbert began to collect aſſociates, and to prepare for embarkation. His own character, and the zealous efforts of his half-brother Walter Ralegh, who, even in his early youth, diſplayed thoſe ſplendid talents, and that undaunted ſpirit, which create admiration and confidence, ſoon procured him a ſufficient number of followers. But his ſucceſs was not ſuited either to the ſanguine hopes of his countrymen, or to the expence of his preparations. Two expeditions, both of which he conducted in perſon, ended diſaſtrouſly. In the laſt he himſelf periſhed, without having effected his intended ſettlement on the continent of America, or performing any thing First expedition fails. 1580.

[u] Hakluyt, iii. 135.

BOOK IX. more worthy of notice, than the empty formality of taking poſſeſſion of the iſland of Newfoundland, in the name of his ſovereign. The diſſentions among his officers; the licentious and ungovernable ſpirit of ſome of his crew; his total ignorance of the countries which he purpoſed to occupy; his misfortune in approaching the continent too far towards the north, where the inhoſpitable coaſt of Cape Breton did not invite them to ſettle; the ſhipwreck of his largeſt veſſel; and, above all, the ſcanty proviſion which the funds of a private man could make of what was requiſite for eſtabliſhing a new colony, were the true cauſes to which the failure of the enterpriſe muſt be imputed, not to any deficiency of abilities or reſolution in its leader[w].

The plan reſumed by Ralegh.

BUT the miſcarriage of a ſcheme, in which Gilbert had waſted his fortune, did not diſcourage Ralegh. He adopted all his brother's ideas; and applying to the Queen, in whoſe favour he ſtood high at that time, he procured a patent, with juriſdiction and prerogatives as ample as had been granted unto Gilbert[x]. Ralegh, no leſs eager to execute than to undertake the ſcheme, inſtantly diſpatched two ſmall

1584. March 26.

April 27.

[w] Hackluyt, iii. 143, &c. [x] Ibid. 243.

veſſels,

veſſels, under the command of Amadas and Barlow, two officers of truſt, to viſit the countries which he intended to ſettle, and to acquire ſome previous knowledge of their coaſts, their ſoil, and productions. In order to avoid Gilbert's error, in holding too far north, they took their courſe by the Canaries and the Weſt India iſlands, and approached the North American continent by the Gulph of Florida. Unfortunately, their chief reſearches were made in that part of the country now known by the name of North Carolina, the province in America moſt deſtitute of commodious harbours. They touched firſt at an iſland, which they call Wokocon (probably Ocakoke), ſituated on the inlet into Pamplicoe Sound, and then at Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. In both they had ſome intercourſe with the natives, whom they found to be ſavages, with all the characteriſtic qualities of uncivilized life, bravery, averſion to labour, hoſpitality, a propenſity to admire, and a willingneſs to exchange their rude productions for Engliſh commodities, eſpecially for iron, or any of the uſeful metals of which they were deſtitute. After ſpending a few weeks in this traffic, and in viſiting ſome parts of the adjacent continent, Amadas and Barlow returned to England with two of the natives, and gave ſuch ſplendid deſcriptions of the

Diſcovery of Virginia.

Sept. 15.

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beauty of the country, the fertility of the ſoil, and the mildneſs of the climate, that Elizabeth, delighted with the idea of occupying a territory ſuperior, ſo far, to the barren regions, towards the north hitherto viſited by her ſubjects, beſtowed on it the name of Virginia; as a memorial that this happy diſcovery had been made under a virgin queen[y].

Colony eſtabliſhed in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenville.

THEIR report encouraged Ralegh to haſten his preparations for taking poſſeſſion of ſuch an inviting property. He ſ ed out a ſquadron of ſeven ſmall ſhips, under the command of Sir Richard Greenville, a man of honourable birth, and of courage ſo undaunted as to be conſpicuous even in that gallant age. But the ſpirit of that predatory war which the Engliſh carried on againſt Spain, mingled with this ſcheme of ſettlement; and on this account, as well as from unacquaintance with a more direct and ſhorter courſe to North America, Greenville ſailed by the Weſt India iſlands. He ſpent ſome time in cruiſing among theſe, and in taking prizes; ſo that it was towards the cloſe of June before he arrived on the coaſt of North America. He touched at both the iſlands where Amadas and Barlow had landed, and made ſome excurſions into

[y] Hakluyt, iii. 246.

different

different parts of the continent round Pamplicoe and Albemarle Sounds. But as, unfortunately, he did not advance far enough towards the north, to discover the noble bay of Chesapeak, he established the colony which he left on the island of Ronaoke, an incommodious station, without any safe harbour, and almost uninhabited [z]. Aug. 25.

In danger of perishing by famine; returns to England.

This colony consisted only of one hundred and eighty persons, under the command of Captain Lane, assisted by some men of note, the most distinguished of whom was Hariot, an eminent mathematician. Their chief employment, during a residence of nine months, was to obtain a more extensive knowledge of the country; and their researches were carried on with greater spirit, and reached farther than could have been expected from a colony so feeble, and in a station so disadvantageous. But from the same impatience of indigent adventurers to acquire sudden wealth, which gave a wrong direction to the industry of the Spaniards in their settlements, the greater part of the English seem to have considered nothing as worthy of attention but mines of gold and silver. These they sought for, wherever they came; these they inquired after

[z] Hakluyt, iii. 251.

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with unwearied eagerneſs. The ſavages ſoon diſcovered the favourite objects which allured them, and artfully amuſed them with ſo many tales concerning pearl fiſheries, and rich mines of various metals, that Lane and his companions waſted their time and activity in the chimerical purſuit of theſe, inſtead of labouring to raiſe proviſions for their own ſubſiſtence. On diſcovering the deceit of the Indians, they were ſo much exaſperated, that from expoſtulations and reproaches, they proceeded to open
1586. hoſtility. The ſupplies of proviſions which they had been accuſtomed to receive from the natives were of courſe withdrawn. Through their own negligence, no other precaution had been taken for their ſupport. Ralegh, having engaged in a ſcheme too expenſive for his narrow funds, had not been able to ſend them that recruit of ſtores with which Greenville had promiſed to furniſh them early in the ſpring. The colony, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and on the point of periſhing with famine, was preparing to diſperſe into different diſtricts of the country in queſt of food, when
June 1. Sir Francis Drake appeared with his fleet, returning from a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. A ſcheme which he formed, of furniſhing Lane and his aſſociates with ſuch ſupplies as might enable them to remain with comfort in their ſtation,

was diſappointed by a ſudden ſtorm, in which a ſmall veſſel that he deſtined for their ſervice was daſhed to pieces; and as he could not ſupply them with another, at their joint requeſt, as they were worn out with fatigue and famine, he carried them home to England [a]. June 19.

Knowledge of the country acquired in this expedition.

SUCH was the inauſpicious beginning of the Engliſh ſettlements in the New World; and, after exciting high expectations, this firſt attempt produced no effect but that of affording a more complete knowledge of the country; as it enabled Hariot, a man of ſcience and obſervation, to deſcribe its ſoil, climate, productions, and the manners of its inhabitants, with a degree of accuracy which merits no inconſiderable praiſe, when compared with the childiſh and marvellous tales publiſhed by ſeveral of the early viſitants of the New World. There is another conſequence of this abortive colony important enough to entitle it to a place in hiſtory, Lane and his aſſociates, by their conſtant intercourſe with the Indians, had acquired a reliſh for their favourite enjoyment of ſmoking tobacco; to the uſe of which, the credulity of that people not only aſcribed a thouſand imaginary virtues, but their ſuperſti-

Uſe of tobacco introduced in England.

[a] Hakluyt, ii. 255. Camd. Annal. 387.

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tion conſidered the plant itſelf as a gracious gift of the gods, for the ſolace of human kind, and the moſt acceptable offering which man can preſent to heaven [b]. They brought with them a ſpecimen of this new commodity to England, and taught their countrymen the method of uſing it; which Ralegh, and ſome young men of faſhion, fondly adopted. From imitation of them, from love of novelty, and from the favourable opinion of its ſalutary qualities entertained by ſeveral phyſicians, the practice ſpread among the Engliſh. The Spaniards and Portugueſe had, previous to this, introduced it in other parts of Europe. This habit of taking tobacco gradually extended from the extremities of the north to thoſe of the ſouth, and in one form or other ſeems to be equally grateful to the inhabitants of every climate; and by a ſingular caprice of the human ſpecies, no leſs inexplicable than unexampled, (ſo betwitching is the acquired taſte for a weed of no manifeſt utility, and at firſt not only unpleaſant, but naufeous,) that it has become almoſt as univerſal as the demands of thoſe appetites originally implanted in our nature. Smoking was the firſt mode of taking tobacco in England; and we learn from the comic

[b] Hariot ap. Hakluyt, iii. 271. De Bry. America, Pars i.

writers

writers towards the close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, that this was deemed one of the accomplishments of a man of fashion and spirit. BOOK IX.

A few days after Drake departed from Roanoke, a small bark, dispatched by Ralegh with a supply of stores for the colony, landed at the place where the English had settled; but on finding it deserted by their countrymen, they returned to England. The bark was hardly gone, when Sir Richard Greenville appeared with three ships. After searching in vain for the colony which he had planted, without being able to learn what had befallen it, he left fifteen of his crew to keep possession of the island. This handful of men was soon overpowered and cut in pieces by the savages[c].

Though all Ralegh's efforts to establish a colony in Virginia had hitherto proved abortive, and had been defeated by a succession of disasters and disappointments, neither his hopes nor resources were exhausted. Early in the following year, he fitted out three ships, under the command of Captain John White, who carried thither a colony more numerous than

Ralegh's second attempt to settle a colony in Virginia.

1587.

[c] Hackluyt, iii. 265. 283.

that

BOOK IX. that which had been ſettled under Lane. On their arrival in Virginia, after viewing the face of the country covered with one continued foreſt, which to them appeared an uninhabited wild, as it was occupied only by a few ſcattered tribes of ſavages, they diſcovered that they were deſtitute of many things which they deemed eſſentially neceſſary towards their ſubſiſtence in ſuch an uncomfortable ſituation; and, with one voice, requeſted White, their commander, to return to England, as the perſon among them moſt likely to ſolicit, with efficacy, the ſupply on which depended the exiſtence of the colony. White landed in his native country at a moſt unfavourable ſeaſon for the negociation which he had undertaken. He found the nation in univerſal alarm at the formidable preparations of Philip II. to invade England, and collecting all its force to oppoſe the fleet to which he had arrogantly given the name of the Invincible Armada. Ralegh, Greenville, and all the moſt zealous patrons of the new ſettlement, were called to act a 1588. diſtinguiſhed part in the operations of a year equally intereſting and glorious to England. Amidſt danger ſo imminent, and during a conteſt for the honour of their ſovereign and the independence of their country, it was impoſſible to attend to a leſs important and remote object. The unfortuuate colony in

Colony periſhes by famine.

Roanoke

Roanoke received no ſupply, and periſhed miſerably by famine, or by the unrelenting cruelty of thoſe barbarians by whom they were ſurrounded. BOOK IX.

Ralegh abandons the deſign of ſettling a colony in Virginia.

DURING the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a colony in Virginia was not reſumed. Ralegh, with a moſt aſpiring mind and extraordinary talents, enlightened by knowledge no leſs uncommon, had the ſpirit and the defects of a projector. Allured by new objects, and always giving the preference to ſuch as were moſt ſplendid and arduous, he was apt to engage in undertakings ſo vaſt and ſo various, as to be far beyond his power of accompliſhing. He was now intent on peopling and improving a large diſtrict of country in Ireland, of which he had obtained a grant from the Queen. He was a deep adventurer in the ſcheme of fitting out a powerful armament againſt Spain, in order to eſtabliſh Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. He had begun to form his favourite but viſionary plan, of penetrating into the province of Guiana, where he fondly dreamed of taking poſſeſſion of inexhauſtible wealth, flowing from the richeſt mines in the New World. Amidſt this multiplicity of projects, of ſuch promiſing appearance, and recommended by novelty, he naturally became cold towards his ancient

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ancient and hitherto unprofitable ſcheme of ſettling a colony in Virginia, and was eaſily induced to aſſign his right of property in that country, which he had never viſited, together with all the privileges contained in his patent, to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London. This company, ſatisfied with a paltry traffic carried on by a few ſmall barks, made no attempt to take poſſeſſion of the country. Thus, after a period of a hundred and ſix years from the time that Cabot diſcovered North America, in the name of Henry VII., and of twenty years from the time that Ralegh planted the firſt colony, there was not a ſingle Engliſhman ſettled there at the demiſe of Queen Elizabeth, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and three.

March 1596.

Circumſtances in Elizabeth's reign unfavourable to coloniza-tion.

I HAVE already explained the cauſes of this, during the period previous to the acceſſion of Elizabeth. Other cauſes produced the ſame effect under her adminiſtration. Though for one half of her reign England was engaged in no foreign war, and commerce enjoyed that perfect ſecurity which is friendly to its progreſs; though the glory of her later years give the higheſt tone of elevation and vigour to the national ſpirit; the Queen herſelf, from her extreme parſimony, and her averſion to demand extraordinary ſupplies of her ſubjects, was more

apt to reſtrain than to ſecond the ardent genius of her people. Several of the moſt ſplendid enterpriſes in her reign were concerted and executed by private adventurers. All the ſchemes for colonization were carried on by the funds of individuals, without any public aid. Even the felicity of her government was adverſe to the eſtabliſhment of remote colonies. So powerful is the attraction of our native ſoil, and ſuch our fortunate partiality to the laws and manners of our own country, that men ſeldom chooſe to abandon it, unleſs they be driven away by oppreſſion or allured by vaſt proſpects of ſudden wealth. But the provinces of America, in which the Engliſh attempted to ſettle, did not, like thoſe occupied by Spain, invite them thither by any appearance of ſilver or golden mines. All their hopes of gain were diſtant; and they ſaw that nothing could be earned but by perſevering exertions of induſtry. The maxims of Elizabeth's adminiſtration were, in their general tenor, ſo popular, as did not force her ſubjects to emigrate, in order to eſcape from the heavy or vexatious hand of power. It ſeems to have been with difficulty that theſe ſlender bands of planters were collected, on which the writers of that age beſtow the name of the firſt and ſecond Virginian colonies. The fulneſs of time for Engliſh colonization was not yet arrived.

But

BOOK IX.

1603. Reign of James favourable to the eſtabliſhment of colonies.

But the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh line to the crown of England haſtened its approach. James was hardly ſeated on the throne before he diſcovered his pacific intentions, and he ſoon terminated the long war which had been carried on between Spain and England, by an amicable treaty. From that period, uninterrupted tranquillity continued during his reign. Many perſons of high rank, and of ardent ambition, to whom the war with Spain had afforded conſtant employment, and preſented alluring proſpects, not only of fame but of wealth, ſoon became ſo impatient of languiſhing at home without occupation or object, that their invention was on the ſtretch to find ſome exerciſe for their activity and talents. To both theſe North America ſeemed to open a new field, and ſchemes of carrying colonies thither became more general and more popular.

Direct courſe from England to North America firſt attempted by Goſnold.

A voyage, undertaken by Bartholomew Goſnold in the laſt year of the Queen, facilitated, as well as encouraged, the execution of theſe ſchemes. He ſailed from Falmouth in a ſmall bark, with thirty-two men. Inſtead of following former navigators in their unneceſſary circuit by the Weſt India iſles and the Gulf of Florida, Goſnold ſteered due weſt as nearly as the winds would permit, and was the firſt

firſt Engliſh commander who reached America by this ſhorter and more direct courſe. That part of the continent which he firſt deſcried was a promontory in the province now called Maſſachuſets Bay, to which he gave the name of Cape Cod. Holding along the coaſt, as it ſtretched towards the ſouth-weſt, he touched at two iſlands, one of which he called Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Iſland; and viſited the adjoining continent, and traded with its inhabitants. He and his companions were ſo much delighted everywhere with the inviting aſpect of the country, that notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their number, a part of them conſented to remain there. But when they had leiſure to reflect upon the fate of former ſettlers in America, they retracted a reſolution formed in the firſt warmth of their admiration; and Goſnold returned to England in leſs than four months from the time of his departure[d].

Conſequences of Goſnold's voyage.

THIS voyage, however inconſiderable it may appear, had important effects. The Engliſh now diſcovered the aſpect of the American continent to be extremely inviting far to the north of the place where they had formerly attempted to ſettle. The coaſt of a vaſt coun-

[d] Purchas, iv. p. 1647.

try,

BOOK IX.

try, ſtretching through the moſt deſirable climates, lay before them. The richneſs of its virgin ſoil promiſed a certain recompence to their induſtry. In its interior provinces unexpected ſources of wealth might open, and unknown objects of commerce might be found. Its diſtance from England was diminiſhed almoſt a third part, by the new courſe which Gofnold had pointed out. Plans for eſtabliſhing colonies began to be formed in different parts of the kingdom; and before theſe were ripe for execution, one ſmall veſſel was ſent out by the merchants of Briſtol, another by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour, in order to learn whether Gofnold's account of the country was to be conſidered as a juſt repreſentation of its ſtate, or as the exaggerated deſcription of a fond diſcoverer. Both returned with a full confirmation of his veracity, and with the addition of ſo many new circumſtances in favour of the country, acquired by a more extenſive view of it, as greatly increaſed the deſire of planting it.

Hakluyt improves the commercial and naval ſkill of that age.

THE moſt active and efficacious promoter of this was Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Weſtminſter, to whom England is more indebted for its American poſſeſſions than to any man of that age. Formed under a kinſman of the ſame name, eminent for naval and commercial knowledge,

ledge, he imbibed a ſimilar taſte, and applied early to the ſtudy of geography and navigation. Theſe favourite ſciences engroſſed his attention, and to diffuſe a reliſh for them was the great object of his life. In order to excite his countrymen to naval enterpriſe, by flattering their national vanity, he publiſhed, in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-nine, his valuable collection of voyages and diſcoveries made by Engliſhmen. In order to ſupply them with what information might be derived from the experience of the moſt ſucceſsful foreign navigators, he tranſlated ſome of the beſt accounts of the progreſs of the Spaniards and Portugueſe in their voyages both to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, into the Engliſh tongue. He was conſulted with reſpect to many of the attempts towards diſcovery or colonization during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. He correſponded with the officers who conducted them, directed their reſearches to proper objects, and publiſhed the hiſtory of their exploits. By the zealous endeavours of a perſon, equally reſpected by men of rank and men of buſineſs, many of both orders formed an aſſociation to eſtabliſh colonies in America, and petitioned the King for the ſanction of his authority to warrant the execution of their plans.

BOOK IX.

James divides the coaſt of North America into two parts;

JAMES, who prided himſelf on his profound ſkill in the ſcience of government, and who had turned his attention to conſider the advantages which might be derived from colonies, at a time when he patroniſed his ſcheme for planting them in ſome of the ruder provinces of his ancient kingdom, with a view of introducing induſtry and civilization there[a], was now no leſs fond of directing the active genius of his Engliſh ſubjects towards occupations not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, and liſtened with a favourable ear to their application. But as the extent as well as value of the American continent began now to be better known, a grant of the whole of ſuch a vaſt region to any one body of men, however reſpectable, appeared to him an act of impolitic and profuſe liberality. For this reaſon, he divided that portion of North America, which ſtretches from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, into two diſtricts nearly equal; the one called the firſt or ſouth colony of Virginia, the other, the ſecond or north colony. He authoriſed Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hakluyt, and their aſſociates, moſtly reſident in London, to ſettle any part of the former which they ſhould chooſe, and veſted in them a

1606. April 10.

[a] Hiſt. of Scotland, ii. 239.

right

right of property to the land extending along the coaſt fifty miles on each ſide of the place of their firſt habitation, and reaching into the interior country a hundred miles. The latter diſtrict he allotted, as the place of ſettlement, to ſundry knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Briſtol, Plymouth, and other parts in the weſt of England, with a ſimilar grant of territory. Neither the monarch who iſſued this charter, nor his ſubjects who received it, had any conception that they were proceeding to lay the foundation of mighty and opulent ſtates. What James granted was nothing more than a ſimple charter of corporation to a trading company, empowering the members of it to have a common ſeal, and to act as a body politic. But as the object for which they aſſociated was new, the plan eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of their affairs was uncommon. Inſtead of the power uſually granted to corporations, of electing officers and framing bye-laws for the conduct of their own operations, the ſupreme government of the colonies to be ſettled was veſted in a council reſident in England, to be named by the King, according to ſuch laws and ordinances as ſhould be given under his ſign manual; and the ſubordinate juriſdiction was committed to a council reſident in America, which was likewiſe to be nominated by the King, and to act

and grants charters to two companies.

Tenor of theſe charters.

BOOK IX.

conformably to his inſtructions. To this important clauſe, which regulated the form of their conſtitution, was added the conceſſion of ſeveral immunities, to encourage perſons to ſettle in the intended colonies. Some of theſe were the ſame which had been granted to Gilbert and Ralegh; ſuch as the ſecuring to the emigrants and their deſcendants all the rights of denizens, in the ſame manner as if they had remained or had been born in England; and granting them the privilege of holding their lands in America by the freeſt and leaſt burdenſome tenure. Others were more favourable than thoſe granted by Elizabeth. He permitted whatever was neceſſary for the ſuſtenance or commerce of the new colonies to be exported from England, during the ſpace of ſeven years, without paying any duty; and as a farther incitement to induſtry, he granted them liberty of trade with other nations, and appropriated the duty to be levied on foreign commodities, for twenty-one years, as a fund for the benefit of the colony[f].

Defects of theſe charters.

In this ſingular charter, the contents of which have been little attended to by the

[f] Stith. Hiſt. of Virginia, p. 35. Append. p. 1. Purchas, v. 1683.

hiſtorians

hiſtorians of America, ſome articles are as unfavourable to the rights of the coloniſts, as others are to the intereſt of the parent ſtate. By placing the legiſlative and executive powers in a council nominated by the crown, and guided by its inſtructions, every perſon ſettling in America ſeems to be bereaved of the nobleſt privilege of a free man; by the unlimited permiſſion of trade with foreigners, the parent ſtate is deprived of that excluſive commerce which has been deemed the chief advantage reſulting from the eſtabliſhment of colonies. But in the infancy of colonization, and without the guidance of obſervation or experience, the ideas of men with reſpect to the mode of forming new ſettlements, were not fully unfolded, or properly arranged. At a period when they could not foreſee the future grandeur and importance of the communities which they were about to call into exiſtence, they were ill qualified to concert the beſt plan for governing them. Beſides, the Engliſh of that age, accuſtomed to the high prerogative and arbitrary rule of their monarchs, were not animated with ſuch liberal ſentiments, either concerning their own perſonal or political rights, as have become familiar in the more mature and improved ſtate of their conſtitution.

BOOK IX.

Colonies of Virginia and New England.

WITHOUT heſitation or reluctance the proprietors of both colonies prepared to execute their reſpective plans; and under the authority of a charter, which would now be rejected with diſdain, as a violent invaſion of the ſacred and inalienable rights of liberty, the firſt permanent ſettlements of the Engliſh in America were eſtabliſhed. From this period, the progreſs of the two provinces of Virginia and New England, form a regular and connected ſtory. The former in the ſouth, and the latter in the north, may be conſidered as the original and parent colonies; in imitation of which, and under whoſe ſhelter, all the others have been ſucceſſively planted and reared.

Advantages of tracing the hiſtory of theſe colonies in their infant ſtate.

THE firſt attempts to occupy Virginia and New England were made by very feeble bodies of emigrants. As theſe ſettled under great diſadvantages, among tribes of ſavages, and in an uncultivated deſert; as they attained gradually, after long ſtruggles, and many diſaſters, to that maturity of ſtrength, and order of policy, which entitles them to be conſidered as reſpectable ſtates, the hiſtory of their perſevering efforts merits particular attention. It will exhibit a ſpectacle no leſs ſtriking than inſtructive, and preſents an opportunity, which rarely occurs, of con-

templating a ſociety in the firſt moment of its political exiſtence, and of obſerving how its ſpirit forms in its infant ſtate, how its principles begin to unfold as it advances, and how thoſe characteriſtic qualities which diſtinguiſh its maturer age, are ſucceſſively acquired. The account of the eſtabliſhment of the other Engliſh colonies, undertaken at periods when the importance of ſuch poſſeſſions was better underſtood, and effected by more direct and vigorous exertions of the parent ſtate, is leſs intereſting. I ſhall therefore relate the hiſtory of the two original colonies in detail. With reſpect to the ſubſequent ſettlements, ſome more general obſervations concerning the time, the motives, and circumſtances of their eſtabliſhment, will be ſufficient. They begin with the hiſtory of Virginia, the moſt ancient and moſt valuable of the Britiſh colonies in North America.

BOOK IX.

THOUGH many perſons of diſtinction became proprietors in the company which undertook to plant a colony in Virginia, its funds ſeem not to have been conſiderable, and its firſt effort was certainly extremely feeble. A ſmall veſſel of a hundred tons, and two barks, under the command of Captain Newport, ſailed with a hundred and five men, deſtined to remain in the country. Some of theſe were of reſpectable

Newport ſails for Virginia. Dec. 19.

BOOK IX.

families, particularly a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and ſeveral officers who had ſerved with reputation in the reign of Elizabeth. Newport, I know not for what reaſon, followed the ancient courſe by the Weſt Indies, and did not reach the coaſt of North America for four months. But he approached it with better fortune than any former navigator; for having been driven, by the violence of a ſtorm, to the northward of Roanoke, the place of his deſtination, the firſt land he diſcovered was a promontory which he called Cape Henry, the ſouthern boundary of the Bay of Cheſapeak. The Engliſh ſtood directly into that ſpacious inlet, which ſeemed to invite them to enter; and as they advanced, contemplated, with a mixture of delight and admiration, that grand reſervoir, into which are poured the waters of all the vaſt rivers, which not only diffuſe fertility through that diſtrict of America, but open the interior parts of the country to navigation, and render a commercial intercourſe more extenſive and commodious than in any other region of the globe. Newport, keeping along the ſouthern ſhore, ſailed up a river, which the natives called Powhatan, and to which he gave the name of James-River. After viewing its banks, during a run of above forty miles from its mouth, they all concluded that a country, where ſafe and

1607. April 26.

Diſcovers the Cheſapeak.

Sails up James-River.

and convenient harbours ſeemed to be numerous, would be a more ſuitable ſtation for a trading colony, than the ſhoally and dangerous coaſt to the ſouth, on which their countrymen had formerly ſettled. Here then they determined to abide; and having choſen a proper ſpot for their reſidence, they gave this infant ſettlement the name of James-Town, which it ſtill retains; and though it has never become either populous or opulent, it can boaſt of being the moſt ancient habitation of the Engliſh in the New World. But however well choſen the ſituation might be, the members of the colony were far from availing themſelves of its advantages. Violent animoſities had broke out among ſome of their leaders, during their voyage to Virginia. Theſe did not ſubſide on their arrival there. The firſt deed of the council, which aſſumed the government in virtue of a commiſſion brought from England under the ſeal of the company, and opened on the day after they landed, was an act of injuſtice. Captain Smith, who had been appointed a member of the council, was excluded from his ſeat at the board, by the mean jealouſy of his colleagues, and not only reduced to the condition of a private man, but of one ſuſpected and watched by his ſuperiors. This diminution of his influence, and reſtraint on his activity, was an eſſential injury to the colony, which at that

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Founds James-Town.

Bad adminiſtration.

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that juncture ſtood in need of the aid of both. For ſoon after they began to ſettle, the Engliſh were involved in a war with the natives, partly by their own indiſcretion, and partly by the ſuſpicion and ferocity of thoſe barbarians. And although the Indians, ſcattered over the countries adjacent to James-River, were divided into independent tribes, ſo extremely feeble that hardly one of them could muſter above two hundred warriors[s], they teazed and annoyed an infant colony by their inceſſant hoſtilities. To this was added a calamity ſtill more dreadful; the ſtock of proviſions left for their ſubſiſtence, on the departure of their ſhips for England, was ſo ſcanty and of ſuch bad quality, that a ſcarcity, approaching almoſt to abſolute famine, ſoon followed. Such poor unwholeſome fare brought on diſeaſes, the violence of which was ſo much increaſed by the ſultry heat of the climate, and the moiſture of a country covered with wood, that before the beginning of September, one half of their number died, and moſt of the ſurvivors were ſickly and dejected. In ſuch trying extremities, the comparative powers of every individual are diſcovered and called forth, and each naturally takes that ſtation, and aſſumes that aſcendant, to which he is entitled by his

Colony annoyed by the Indians.

June 15.

Suffers from ſcarcity, and the unhealthineſs of the climate.

[s] Purchas, vol. iv. 1692. Smith's Travels, p. 23.

talents

talents and force of mind. Every eye was now turned towards Smith, and all willingly devolved on him that authority of which they had formerly deprived him. His undaunted temper, deeply tinctured with the wild romantic ſpirit characteriſtic of military adventurers in that age, was peculiarly ſuited to ſuch a ſituation. The vigour of his conſtitution continued fortunately ſtill unimpaired by diſeaſe, and his mind was never appalled by danger. He inſtantly adopted the only plan that could ſave them from deſtruction. He began by ſurrounding James-Town with ſuch rude fortifications as were a ſufficient defence againſt the aſſaults of ſavages. He then marched, at the head of a ſmall detachment, in queſt of their enemies. Some tribes he gained by careſſes and preſents, and procured from them a ſupply of proviſions. Others he attacked with open force; and defeating them on every occaſion, whatever their ſuperiority in numbers might be, compelled them to impart to him ſome portion of their winter ſtores. As the recompence of all his toils and dangers, he ſaw abundance and contentment re-eſtabliſhed in the colony, and hoped that he ſhould be able to maintain them in that happy ſtate, until the arrival of ſhips from England in the ſpring: but in one of his excurſions

BOOK IX.

Smith called to the command, reſtores the proſperity of the colony.

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excurſions he was ſurpriſed by a numerous body of Indians, and in making his eſcape from them, after a gallant defence, he ſunk to the neck in a ſwamp, and was obliged to ſurrender. Though he knew well what a dreadful fate awaits the priſoners of ſavages, his preſence of mind did not forſake him. He ſhowed thoſe who had taken him captive a mariner's compaſs, and amuſed them with ſo many wonderful accounts of its virtues, as filled them with aſtoniſhment and veneration, which began to operate very powerfully in his favour. They led him, however, in triumph through various parts of the country, and conducted him at laſt to Powhatan, the moſt conſiderable Sachim in that part of Virginia. There the doom of death being pronounced, he was led to the place of execution, and his head already bowed down to receive the fatal blow, when that fond attachment of the American women to their European invaders, the beneficial effects of which the Spaniards often experienced, interpoſed in his behalf. The favourite daughter of Powhatan ruſhed in between him and the executioner, and by her intreaties and tears prevailed on her father to ſpare his life. The beneficence of his deliverer, whom the early Engliſh writers dignify with the title of the Princeſs Pocahuntas, did

He is taken priſoner by the Indians.

not terminate here; ſhe ſoon after procured his liberty, and ſent him from time to time ſeaſonable preſents of proviſions [h]. BOOK IX.

SMITH, on his return to James-Town, found the colony reduced to thirty-eight perſons, who, in deſpair, were preparing to abandon a country which did not ſeem deſtined to be the habitation of Engliſhmen. He employed careſſes, threats, and even violence, in order to prevent them from executing this fatal reſolution. With difficulty he prevailed on them to defer it ſo long, that the ſuccour anxiouſly expected from England arrived. Plenty was inſtantly reſtored; a hundred new planters were added to their number; and an ample ſtock of whatever was requiſite for clearing and ſowing the ground was delivered to them. But an unlucky incident turned their attention from that ſpecies of induſtry which alone could render their ſituation comfortable. In a ſmall ſtream of water that iſſued from a bank of ſand near James-Town, a ſediment of ſome ſhining mineral ſubſtance, which had ſome reſemblance of gold was diſcovered. At a time when the precious metals were conceived to be the peculiar and only valuable productions of the

On his return, he finds the colony almoſt ruined.

Seaſonable ſuccours from England.

Coloniſts deceived by the appearances of gold.

[h] Smith's Travels, p. 44, &c. Purchas, iv. 1704. Stith. p. 45, &c.

New

BOOK IX.

New World, when every mountain was ſuppoſed to contain a treaſure, and every rivulet was ſearched for its golden ſands, this appearance was fondly conſidered as an infallible indication of a mine. Every hand was eager to dig; large quantities of this glittering duſt were amaſſed. From ſome aſſay of its nature, made by an artiſt as unſkilful as his companions were credulous, it was pronounced to be extremely rich. "There was now," ſays Smith, "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, "waſh gold, refine gold[i]." With this imaginary wealth the firſt veſſel returning to England was loaded, while the culture of the land, and every uſeful occupation, were totally neglected.

Smith undertakes a ſurvey of the country.

THE effects of this fatal deluſion were ſoon felt. Notwithſtanding all the provident activity of Smith, in procuring corn from the natives by traffic or by force, the colony began to ſuffer as much as formerly from ſcarcity of food, and was waſted by the ſame diſtempers. In hopes of obtaining ſome relief, Smith propoſed, as they had not hitherto extended their reſearches beyond the countries contiguous to James-River, to open an intercourſe with the more remote tribes, and to examine into the ſtate

[i] Smith's Travels, p. 53.

of

of culture and population among them. The execution of this arduous deſign he undertook himſelf, in a ſmall open boat, with a feeble crew, and a very ſcanty ſtock of proviſions. He began his ſurvey at Cape Charles, and in two different excurſions, which continued above four months, he advanced as far as the river Suſquehannah, which flows into the bottom of the bay. He viſited all the countries both on the eaſt and weſt ſhores; he entered moſt of the conſiderable creeks; he ſailed up many of the great rivers as far as their falls. He traded with ſome tribes; he fought with others; he obſerved the nature of the territory which they occupied, their mode of ſubſiſtence, the peculiarities in their manners; and left among all a wonderful admiration either of the beneficence or valour of the Engliſh. After ſailing above three thouſand miles in a paltry veſſel, ill fitted for ſuch an extenſive navigation, during which the hardſhips to which he was expoſed, as well as the patience with which he endured, and the fortitude with which he ſurmounted them, equal whatever is related of the celebrated Spaniſh diſcoverers in their moſt daring enterprizes, he returned to James-Town; he brought with him an account of that large portion of the American continent now comprehended in the two pro- BOOK IX.

vinces

BOOK IX.

vinces of Virginia and Maryland[k], so full and exact, that after the progress of information and research for a century and a half, his map exhibits no inaccurate view of both countries, and is the original upon which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed[l].

But whatever pleasing prospect of future benefit might open upon this complete discovery of a country formed by nature to be the seat of an exclusive commerce, it afforded but little relief for their present wants. The colony still depended for subsistence chiefly on supplies from the natives; as, after all the efforts of their own industry, hardly thirty acres of ground were yet cleared so as to be capable of culture[m]. By Smith's attention, however, the stores of the English were so regularly filled, that for some time they felt no considerable distress; and at this juncture a change was made in the constitution of the company, which seemed to promise an increase of their security and happiness. That supreme direction of all the company's operations, which the King by his charter had reserved to himself, discouraged persons of rank

[k] Smith's Travels, p. 65, &c.
[l] Stith. p. 83.
[m] Stith. p. 97.

or

or property from becoming members of a society so dependant on the arbitrary will of the crown. Upon a representation of this to James, he granted them a new charter, with more ample privileges. He enlarged the boundaries of the colony; he rendered the powers of the company, as a corporation, more explicit and complete; he abolished the jurisdiction of the council resident in Virginia; he vested the government entirely in a council residing in London; he granted to the proprietors of the company the right of electing the persons who were to compose this council, by a majority of voices; he authorized this council to establish such laws, orders and forms of government and magistracy, for the colony and plantation, as they in their discretion should think to be fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there; he empowered them to nominate a governor to have the administration of affairs in the colony; and to carry their orders into execution[a]. In consequence of these concessions, the company having acquired the power of regulating all its own transactions, the number of proprietors increased, and among them we find the most respectable names in the nation.

BOOK IX.

1609. May 23. A new charter granted.

[a] Stith, Append. 8.

BOOK IX.

Lord Delaware appointed governor.

THE firſt deed of the new council was to appoint Lord Delaware governor and captain-general of their colony in Virginia. To a perſon of his rank thoſe high-ſounding titles could be no allurement; and by his thorough acquaintance with the progreſs and ſtate of the ſettlement, he knew enough of the labour and difficulty with which an infant colony is reared, to expect any thing but anxiety and care in diſcharging the duties of that delicate office. But, from zeal to promote an eſtabliſhment which he expected to prove ſo highly beneficial to his country, he was willing to relinquiſh all the comforts of an honourable ſtation, to undertake a long voyage to ſettle in an uncultivated region deſtitute of every accommodation to which he had been accuſtomed, and where he foreſaw that toil, and trouble, and danger awaited him. But as he could not immediately leave England, the council diſpatched Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers, the former of whom had been appointed lieutenant-general and the latter admiral, with nine ſhips and five hundred planters. They carried with them commiſſions, by which they were empowered to ſuperſede the juriſdiction of the former council, to proclaim Lord Delaware governor, and, until he ſhould arrive, to take the adminiſtration of affairs into their own hands.

Gates and Summers appointed to command till the arrival of Lord Delaware.

BOOK IX.

A violent hurricane ſeparated the veſſel in which Gates and Summers had embarked from the reſt of the fleet, and ſtranded it on the coaſt of Bermudas. The other ſhips arrived ſafely at James-Town. But the fate of their commanders was unknown. Their commiſſion for new-modelling the government, and all other public papers, were ſuppoſed to be loſt, together with them. The preſent form of government, however, was held to be aboliſhed. No legal warrant could be produced for eſtabliſhing any other. Smith was not in a condition at this juncture to aſſert his own rights, or to act with his wonted vigour. By an accidental exploſion of gunpowder, he had been ſo miſerably ſcorched and mangled, that he was incapable of moving, and under the neceſſity of committing himſelf to the guidance of his friends, who carried him aboard one of the ſhips returning to England, in hopes that he might recover by more ſkilful treatment than he could meet with in Virginia[o].

Their ſhip ſtranded on the coaſt of Bermudas. Aug. 11.

AFTER his departure, every thing tended faſt to the wildeſt anarchy. Faction and diſcontent had often riſen ſo high among the old ſettlers, that they could hardly be kept within bounds.

Anarchy in the colony.

[o] Purchas, iv. 1734, &c. Smith's Travels, p. 89. Stith, p. 102, &c.

BOOK IX.

The ſpirit of the new comers was too ungovernable to bear any reſtraint. Several among them of better rank were ſuch diſſipated hopeleſs young men, as their friends were glad to ſend out in queſt of whatever fortune might betide them in a foreign land. Of the lower order many were ſo profligate or deſperate, that their country was happy to throw them out as nuiſances in ſociety. Such perſons were little capable of the regular ſubordination, the ſtrict economy, and perſevering induſtry, which their ſituation required. The Indians obſerving their miſconduct, and that every precaution for ſuſtenance or ſafety was neglected, not only withheld the ſupplies of proviſions which they were accuſtomed to furniſh, but haraſſed them with continual hoſtilities. All their ſubſiſtence was derived from the ſtores which they had brought from England; theſe were ſoon conſumed; then the domeſtic animals ſent out to breed in the country were devoured; and by this inconſiderate waſte, they were reduced to ſuch extremity of famine, as not only to eat the moſt naufeous and unwholeſome roots and berries, but to feed on the bodies of the Indians whom they ſlew, and even on thoſe of their companions who ſunk under the oppreſſion of ſuch complicated diſtreſs. In leſs than ſix months, of five hundred

he colony duced by nine.

dred perſons whom Smith left in Virginia, only ſixty remained; and theſe ſo feeble and dejected, that they could not have ſurvived for ten days, if ſuccour had not arrived from a quarter whence they did not expect it [p]. BOOK IX.

Gates and Summers arrive from Bermudas.

When Gates and Summers were thrown aſhore on Bermudas, fortunately not a ſingle perſon on board their ſhip periſhed. A conſiderable part of their proviſions and ſtores too was ſaved, and in that delightful ſpot Nature, with ſpontaneous bounty, preſented to them ſuch a variety of her productions, that a hundred and fifty people ſubſiſted in affluence for ten months on an uninhabited iſland. Impatient, however, to eſcape from a place where they were cut off from all intercourſe with mankind, they ſet about building two barks with ſuch tools and materials as they had, and by amazing efforts of perſeverance and ingenuity they finiſhed them. In theſe they embarked, and ſteered directly towards Virginia, in hopes of finding an ample conſolation for all their toils and dangers in the embraces of their companions, and amidſt the comforts of a flouriſhing colony. After a more proſperous navigation than they could have expected in their ill-conſtructed veſſels, they landed at

[p] Stith, p. 116. Purchas, iv. 1748.

BOOK IX.

May 23.

Find the colony in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

James-Town. But inſtead of that joyful interview for which they fondly looked, a ſpectacle preſented itſelf which ſtruck them with horror. They beheld the miſerable remainder of their countrymen emaciated with famine and ſickneſs, ſunk in deſpair, and in their figure and looks rather reſembling ſpectres than human beings. As Gates and Summers, in full confidence of finding plenty of proviſions in Virginia, had brought with them no larger ſtock than was deemed neceſſary for their own ſupport during the voyage, their inability to afford relief to their countrymen, added to the anguiſh with which they viewed this unexpected ſcene of diſtreſs. Nothing now remained but inſtantly to abandon a country, where it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt any longer; and though all that could be found in the ſtores of the colony, when added to what remained of the ſtock brought from Bermudas, did not amount to more than was ſufficient to ſupport them for ſixteen days, at the moſt ſcanty allowance, they ſet ſail, in hopes of being able to reach Newfoundland, where they expected to be relieved by their countrymen employed at that ſeaſon in the fiſhery there [q].

[q] A minute and curious account of the ſhipwreck of Gates and Summers, and of their adventures in Bermudas, was compoſed by Strachy, a gentleman who accompanied them, and was publiſhed by Purchas, iv. 1734.

BUT

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But it was not the will of Heaven that all the labour of the Engliſh, in planting this colony, as well as all their hopes of benefit from its future proſperity, ſhould be for ever loſt. Before Gates, and the melancholy companions of his voyage, had reached the mouth of James-River, they were met by Lord Delaware, with three ſhips, that brought a large recruit of proviſions, a conſiderable number of new ſettlers, and every thing requiſite for defence or cultivation. By perſuaſion and authority he prevailed on them to return to James-Town, where they found their fort, their magazines, and houſes entire, which Sir Thomas Gates, by ſome happy chance, had preſerved from being ſet on fire at the time of their departure. A ſociety ſo feeble and diſordered in its frame, required a tender and ſkilful hand to cheriſh it, and reſtore its vigour. This it found in Lord Delaware: he ſearched into the cauſes of their misfortunes, as far as he could diſcover them, amidſt the violence of their mutual accuſations; but inſtead of exerting his power in puniſhing crimes that were paſt, he employed his prudence in healing their diſſentions, and in guarding againſt a repetition of the ſame fatal errors. By unwearied aſſiduities, by the reſpect due to an amiable and beneficent character, by knowing how to mingle ſeverity with indulgence, and

Are about to return to England, when Lord Delaware arrives.

Wiſe adminiſtration of Lord Delaware.

BOOK IX.

when to assume the dignity of his office, as well as when to display the gentleness natural to his own temper, he gradually reconciled men corrupted by anarchy to subordination and discipline, he turned the attention of the idle and profligate to industry, and taught the Indians again to reverence and dread the English name. Under such an administration, the colony began once more to assume a promising appearance; when, unhappily for it, a complication of diseases brought on by the climate obliged Lord Delaware to quit the country[r]; the government of which he committed to Mr. Percy.

1611. March 28. His health obliges him to return to England.

May 10. Sir Thomas Dale appointed governor.

Martial law established.

He was soon superseded by the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale; in whom the company had vested more absolute authority than in any of his predecessors, empowering him to rule by martial law; a short code of which, founded on the practice of the armies in the Low Countries, the most rigid military school at that time in Europe, they sent out with him. This system of government is so violent and arbitrary, that even the Spaniards themselves had not ventured to introduce it into their settlements; for among them, as soon as a plantation began and the arts of peace succeeded to the operations of war,

[r] Stith, p. 117. Purchas, iv. 1764.

the

the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate was uniformly established. But however unconstitutional or oppressive this may appear, it was adopted by the advice of Sir Francis Bacon, the most enlightened philosopher, and one of the most eminent lawyers of the age[s]. The company, well acquainted with the inefficacy of every method which they had hitherto employed for restraining the unruly mutinous spirits which they had to govern, eagerly adopted a plan that had the sanction of such high authority to recommend it. Happily for the colony, Sir Thomas Dale, who was entrusted with this dangerous power, exercised it with prudence and moderation. By the vigour which the summary mode of military punishment gave to his administration, he introduced into the colony more perfect order than had ever been established there; and at the same time he tempered his vigour with so much discretion, that no alarm seems to have been given by this formidable innovation[t].

1612. March 12. New charter issued to the colony; new privileges conferred.

THE regular form which the colony now began to assume, induced the King to issue a new charter for the encouragement of the adventurers, by which he not only confirmed

[s] Bacon, Essay on Plantations, p. 3.

[t] Stith, p. 112.

all

BOOK IX. all their former privileges, and prolonged the term of exemption from payment of duties on the commodities exported by them, but granted them more extenſive property, as well as more ample juriſdiction. All the iſlands lying within three hundred leagues of the coaſt were annexed to the province of Virginia. In conſequence of this, the company took poſſeſſion of Bermudas, and the other ſmall iſlands diſcovered by Gates and Summers, and at the ſame time prepared to ſend out a conſiderable reinforcement to the colony at James-Town. The expence of thoſe extraordinary efforts was defrayed by the profits of a lottery, which amounted nearly to thirty thouſand pounds. This expedient they were authoriſed to employ by their new charter [u]; and it is remarkable, as the firſt inſtance, in the Engliſh hiſtory, of any public countenance given to this pernicious ſeducing mode of levying money. But the Houſe of Commons, which towards the cloſe of this reign began to obſerve every meaſure of government with jealous attention, having remonſtrated againſt the inſtitution as unconſtitutional and impolitic, James recalled the licence under the ſanction of which it had been eſtabliſhed [v].

[u] Stith, p. 191. Appendix, 23, &c.
[v] Chalmer's Annals, i. 32.

By

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By the ſevere diſcipline of martial law, the activity of the coloniſts was forced into a proper direction, and exerted itſelf in uſeful induſtry. This, aided by a fertile ſoil and favourable climate, ſoon enabled them to raiſe ſuch a large ſtock of proviſions, that they were no longer obliged to truſt for ſubſiſtence to the precarious ſupplies which they obtained or extorted from the Indians. In proportion as the Engliſh became more independent, the natives courted their friendſhip upon more equal terms. The happy effects of this were quickly felt. Sir Thomas Dale concluded a treaty with one of their moſt powerful and warlike tribes, ſituated on the River Chickahominy, in which they conſented to acknowledge themſelves ſubjects to the King of Great Britain, to aſſume henceforth the name of Engliſhmen, to ſend a body of their warriors to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, as often as they took the field againſt any enemy, and to depoſit annually a ſtipulated quantity of Indian corn in the ſtore-houſes of the colony[w]. An event, which the early hiſtorians of Virginia relate with peculiar ſatisfaction, prepared the way for this union. Pocahuntas, the favourite daughter of the great Chief Powhatan, to whoſe interceſſion

Cultivation of the lands promoted.

Treaty with the natives.

[w] Hamer Solida Narratio, ap. de Bry. Pars x. p. 33. Stith, p. 130.

Captain

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Captain Smith was indebted for his life, perſevered in her partial attachment to the Engliſh; and as ſhe frequently viſited their ſettlements, where ſhe was always received with reſpectful hoſpitality, her admiration of their arts and manners continued to increaſe. During this intercourſe, her beauty, which is repreſented as far ſuperior to that of her countrywomen, made ſuch impreſſion on the heart of Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank in the colony, that he warmly ſolicited her to accept of him as a huſband. Where manners are ſimple, courtſhip is not tedious. Neither artifice prevents, nor ceremony forbids the heart from declaring its ſentiments. Pocahuntas readily gave her conſent; Dale encouraged the alliance, and Powhatan did not diſapprove it. The marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp; and from that period a friendly correſpondence ſubſiſted between the colony and all the tribes ſubject to Powhatan, or that ſtood in awe of his power. Rolfe and his princeſs (for by that name the writers of the laſt age always diſtinguiſh her) ſet out for England, where ſhe was received by James and his Queen with the reſpect ſuited to her birth. Being carefully inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian faith, ſhe was publicly baptized, but died a few years after, on her return to America, leaving one ſon from whom are ſprung ſome of the moſt reſpectable families in

Rolfe marries the daughter of an Indian Chief.

in Virginia, who boaſt of their deſcent from the race of the ancient rulers of their country[x]. But notwithſtanding the viſible good effects of that alliance, none of Rolfe's countrymen ſeem to have imitated the example which he ſet them, of intermarrying with the natives. Of all the Europeans who have ſettled in America, the Engliſh have availed themſelves leaſt of this obvious method of conciliating the affection of its original inhabitants; and, either from the ſhyneſs conſpicuous in their national character, or from the want of that pliant facility of manners which accommodates itſelf to every ſituation, they have been more averſe than the French and Portugueſe, or even the Spaniards, from incorporating with the native Americans. The Indians, courting ſuch an union, offered their daughters in marriage to their new gueſts: and when they did not accept of the proffered alliance, they naturally imputed it to pride and to their contempt of them as an inferior order of beings[y].

Land in Virginia firſt becomes property.

DURING the interval of tranquillity procured by the alliance with Powhatan, an important change was made in the ſtate of the colony.

[x] Hamer Solida Narratio, ap. de Bry. Pars x. p. 23. Stith, p. 129. 146. Smith's Travels, p. 113. 121.

[y] Beverley's Hiſt. of Virg. p. 25.

Hitherto

BOOK IX. Hitherto no right of private property in land had been eſtabliſhed. The fields that were cleared had been cultivated by the joint labour of the coloniſts; their product was carried to the common ſtorehouſes, and diſtributed weekly to every family, according to its number and exigencies. A ſociety, deſtitute of the firſt advantage reſulting from ſocial union, was not formed to proſper. Induſtry, when not excited by the idea of property in what was acquired by its own efforts, made no vigorous exertion. The head had no inducement to contrive, nor the hand to labour. The idle and improvident truſted entirely to what was iſſued from the common ſtore; the aſſiduity even of the ſober and attentive relaxed, when they perceived that others were to reap the fruit of their toil; and it was computed, that the united induſtry of the colony did not accompliſh as much work in a week as might have been performed in a day, if each individual had laboured on his own account. In order to remedy this, Sir Thomas Dale divided a conſiderable portion of the land into ſmall lots, and granted one of theſe to each individual in full property. From the moment that induſtry had the certain proſpect of a recompence, it advanced with rapid progreſs. The articles of primary neceſſity were cultivated with ſo much attention as ſecured the means

Advantages.

means of ſubſiſtence; and ſuch ſchemes of improvement were formed as prepared the way for the introduction of opulence into the colony [z]. BOOK IX.

THE induſtrious ſpirit, which began to riſe among the planters was ſoon directed towards a new object; and they applied to it for ſome time with ſuch inconſiderate ardour as was productive of fatal conſequences. The culture of tobacco, which has ſince become the ſtaple of Virginia, and the ſource of its proſperity, was introduced about this time into the colony. As the taſte for that weed continued to increaſe in England, notwithſtanding the zealous declamations of James againſt it, the tobacco imported from Virginia came to a ready market; and though it was ſo much inferior in quality or in eſtimation to that raiſed by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indian iſlands, that a pound of the latter ſold for eighteen ſhillings, and of the former for no more than three ſhillings, it yielded a conſiderable profit. Allured by the proſpect of ſuch a certain and quick return, every other ſpecies of induſtry was neglected. The land which ought to have been reſerved for raiſing proviſions, and even Culture of tobacco introduced. 1616. Bad conſequences ariſing from it.

[z] Smith's Travels, p. 114. Stith, p. 131.

the

BOOK IX. the ſtreets of James-Town, were planted with tobacco. Various regulations were framed to reſtrain this ill-directed activity. But, from eagerneſs for preſent gain, the planters diſregarded every admonition. The means of ſubſiſtence became ſo ſcanty, as forced them to renew their demands upon the Indians, who, ſeeing no end of thoſe exactions, their antipathy to the Engliſh name revived with additional rancour, and they began to form ſchemes of vengeance, with a ſecrecy and ſilence peculiar to Americans [a].

MEANWHILE the colony, notwithſtanding this error in its operations, and the cloud that was gathering over its head, continued to wear an aſpect of proſperity. Its numbers increaſed by ſucceſſive migrations; the quantity of tobacco exported became every year more conſiderable, and ſeveral of the planters were not only in an eaſy ſituation, but advancing faſt to opulence [b]; and by two events, which happened nearly at the ſame time, both population and induſtry were greatly promoted. As few women had hitherto ventured to encounter the hardſhips which were unavoidable in an unknown and uncultivated country, moſt of the coloniſts,

[a] Stith, p. 140. 147. 164. 168. Smith, p. 130. Purchas, iv. 1787. [b] Smith, p. 139.

conſtrained to live ſingle, conſidered themſelves as no more than ſojourners in a land to which they were not attached by the tender ties of a family and children. In order to induce them to ſettle there, the company took advantage of the apparent tranquillity in the country, to ſend out a conſiderable number of young women, of humble birth indeed, but of unexceptionable character, and encouraged the planters, by premiums and immunities, to marry them [c]. Theſe new companions were received with ſuch fondneſs, and many of them ſo comfortably eſtabliſhed, as invited others to follow their example; and by degrees thoughtleſs adventurers, aſſuming the ſentiments of virtuous citizens and of provident fathers of families, became ſolicitous about the proſperity of a country, which they now conſidered as their own. As the coloniſts began to form more extenſive plans of induſtry, they were unexpectedly furniſhed with means of executing them with greater facility. A Dutch ſhip from the coaſt of Guinea, having ſailed up James-River, ſold a part of her cargo of negroes to the planters [d]; and as that hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue under a ſultry climate than Europeans, their number has been increaſed by continual

Young women migrate from England to Virginia.

Negroes firſt introduced.

[c] Stith, p. 166. 197.

[d] Beverley, p. 37.

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importation; their aid ſeems now to be eſſential to the exiſtence of the colony, and the greater part of field-labour in Virginia is performed by ſervile hands.

But as the condition of the colony improved, the ſpirit of its members became more independent. To Engliſhmen the ſummary and ſevere deciſions of martial law, however tempered by the mildneſs of their governors, appeared intolerably oppreſſive; and they longed to recover the privileges to which they had been accuſtomed under the liberal form of government in their native country. In compliance with this ſpirit, Sir George Yeardley, in the year 1619, called the firſt general aſſembly that was ever held in Virginia; and the numbers of the people were now ſo increaſed, and their ſettlements ſo diſperſed, that eleven corporations appeared by their repreſentatives in this convention, where they were permitted to aſſume legiſlative power, and to exerciſe the nobleſt function of free men. The laws enacted in it ſeem neither to have been many, nor of great importance; but the meeting was highly acceptable to the people, as they now beheld among themſelves an image of the Engliſh conſtitution, which they reverenced as the moſt perfect model of free government. In order to render this reſemblance more com-

1619. June. Firſt general aſſembly of repreſentatives.

plete, and the rights of the planters more certain, the company iſſued a charter or ordinance, which gave a legal and permanent form to the government of the colony. The ſupreme legiſlative authority in Virginia, in imitation of that in Great Britain, was divided and lodged partly in the governor, who held the place of the ſovereign; partly in a council of ſtate named by the company, which poſſeſſed ſome of the diſtinctions, and exerciſed ſome of the functions belonging to the peerage; partly in a general council or aſſembly compoſed of the repreſentatives of the people, in which were veſted powers and privileges ſimilar to thoſe of the Houſe of Commons. In both theſe councils all queſtions were to be determined by the majority of voices, and a negative was reſerved to the governor; but no law or ordinance, though approved of by all the three members of the legiſlature, was to be of force, until it was ratified in England by a general court of the company, and returned under its ſeal [c]. Thus the conſtitution of the colony was fixed, and the members of it are henceforth to be conſidered, not merely as ſervants of a commercial company, dependant on the will and orders of their ſuperior, but as free men and citizens.

July 24. New conſtitution given to the colony.

[c] Stith, Appendix, p. 32, &c.

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Induſtry increaſed.

THE natural effect of that happy change in their condition was an increaſe of their induſtry. The product of tobacco in Virginia was now equal, not only to the conſumption of it in Great Britain[f], but could furniſh ſome quantity for a foreign market. The company opened a trade for it with Holland, and eſtabliſhed warehouſes in Middleburgh and Fluſhing. James, and his privy council, alarmed at ſeeing the commerce of a commodity, for which the demand was daily increaſing, turned into a channel that tended to the diminution of the revenue, by depriving it of a conſiderable duty impoſed on the importation of tobacco, interpoſed with vigour to check this innovation. Some expedient was found, by which the matter was adjuſted for the preſent;

Direct trade of the colony with Holland.

Gives offence to James.

[f] It is a matter of ſome curioſity to trace the progreſs of the conſumption of this unneceſſary commodity. The uſe of tobacco ſeems to have been firſt introduced into England about the year 1586. Poſſibly a few ſeafaring perſons may have acquired a reliſh for it by their intercourſe with the Spaniards previous to that period; but the uſe of it cannot be denominated a national habit ſooner than the time I have mentioned. Upon an average of the ſeven years immediately preceding the year 1622, the whole import of tobacco into England amounted to a hundred and forty-two thouſand and eighty-five pounds weight. Stith, p. 246. From this it appears, that the taſte had ſpread with a rapidity which is remarkable. But how inconſiderable is that quantity to what is now conſumed in Great Britain!

but

but it is remarkable as the firſt inſtance of a difference in ſentiment between the parent ſtate and the colony, concerning their reſpective rights. The former concluded, that the trade of the colony ſhould be confined to England, and all its productions be landed there. The latter claimed, not only the general privilege of Engliſhmen to carry their commodities to the beſt market, but pleaded the particular conceſſions in their charter, by which an unlimited freedom of commerce ſeemed to be granted to them[s]. The time for a more full diſcuſſion of this important queſtion was not yet arrived.

The colony neglects the precautions neceſſary for its defence againſt the Indians.

BUT while the colony continued to increaſe ſo faſt, that ſettlements were ſcattered, not only along the banks of James and York Rivers, but began to extend to the Rapahannock, and even to the Potowmack, the Engliſh, relying on their own numbers, and deceived by this appearance of proſperity, lived in full ſecurity. They neither attended to the movements of the Indians, nor ſuſpected their machinations, and though ſurrounded by a people whom they might have known from experience to be both artful and vindictive, they neglected every precaution for their own

[s] Stith, p. 200, &c.

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ſafety that was requiſite in ſuch a ſituation. Like the peaceful inhabitants of a ſociety completely eſtabliſhed, they were no longer ſoldiers but citizens, and were ſo intent on what was ſubſervient to the comfort or embelliſhment of civil life, that every martial exerciſe began to be laid aſide as unneceſſary. The Indians, whom they commonly employed as hunters, were furniſhed with fire-arms, and taught to uſe them with dexterity. They were permitted to frequent the habitations of the Engliſh at all hours, and received as innocent viſitants whom there was no reaſon to dread. This inconſiderate ſecurity enabled the Indians to prepare for the execution of that plan of vengeance, which they meditated with all the deliberate forethought which is agreeable to their temper. Nor did they want a leader capable of conducting their ſchemes with addreſs. On the death of Powhatan, in the year 1618, Opechancanough ſucceeded him, not only as wirowanee, or chief of his own tribe, but in that extenſive influence over all the Indian nations of Virginia, which induced the Engliſh writers to diſtinguiſh them by the name of Emperor. According to the Indian tradition, he was not a native of Virginia, but came from a diſtant country to the ſouth-weſt, poſſibly from ſome province of the Mexican

General maſſacre of the Engliſh planned by the Indians.

ican empire [h]. But as he was conſpicuous for all the qualities of higheſt eſtimation among ſavages, a fearleſs courage, great ſtrength and agility of body, and crafty policy, he quickly roſe to eminence and power. Soon after his elevation to the ſupreme command, a general maſſacre of the Engliſh ſeems to have been reſolved upon; and during four years, the means of perpetrating it with the greateſt facility and ſucceſs were concerted with amazing ſecrecy. All the tribes contiguous to the Engliſh ſettlements were ſucceſſively gained, except thoſe on the eaſtern ſhore, from whom, on account of their peculiar attachment to their new neighbours, every circumſtance that might diſcover what they intended was carefully concealed. To each tribe its ſtation was allotted, and the part it was to act preſcribed. On the morning of the day conſecrated to vengeance, each was at the place of rendezvous appointed, while the Engliſh were ſo little aware of the impending deſtruction, that they received with unſuſpicious hoſpitality ſeveral perſons ſent by Opechancanough, under pretext of delivering preſents of veniſon and fruits, but in reality to obſerve their motions. Finding them perfectly ſecure, at mid-day, the mo-

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March 22.

Executed on moſt of the ſettlements.

[h] Beverley, p. 51.

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ment that was previouſly fixed for this deed of horror, the Indians ruſhed at once upon them in all their different ſettlements, and murdered men, women, and children, with undiſtinguiſhing rage, and that rancorous cruelty with which ſavages treat their enemies. In one hour nearly a fourth part of the whole colony was cut off, almoſt without knowing by whoſe hands they fell. The ſlaughter would have been univerſal, if compaſſion, or a ſenſe of duty, had not moved a converted Indian, to whom the ſecret was communicated the night before the maſſacre, to reveal it to his maſter in ſuch time as to ſave James-Town, and ſome adjacent ſettlements; and if the Engliſh in other diſtricts had not run to their arms with reſolution prompted by deſpair, and defended themſelves ſo bravely as to repulſe their aſſailants, who, in the execution of their plan, did not diſcover courage equal to the ſagacity and art with which they had concerted it[1].

But though the blow was thus prevented from deſcending with its full effect, it proved very grievous to an infant colony. In ſome ſettlements not a ſingle Engliſhman eſcaped. Many perſons of prime note in the colony, and

[1] Stith, p. 208, &c. Purchas, iv. 1788, &c.

among

among theſe ſeveral members of the council, were ſlain. The ſurvivors, overwhelmed with grief, aſtoniſhment, and terror, abandoned all their remote ſettlements, and, crowding together for ſafety to James-Town, did not occupy a territory of greater extent than had been planted ſoon after the arrival of their countrymen in Virginia. Confined within thoſe narrow boundaries, they were leſs intent on ſchemes of induſtry than on thoughts of revenge. Every man took arms. A bloody war againſt the Indians commenced; and, bent on exterminating the whole race, neither old nor young were ſpared. The conduct of the Spaniards in the ſouthern regions of America was openly propoſed as the moſt proper model to imitate [k]; and regardleſs, like them, of thoſe principles of faith, honour, and humanity, which regulate hoſtility among civiliſed nations and ſet bounds to its rage, the Engliſh deemed every thing allowable that tended to accompliſh their deſign. They hunted the Indians like wild beaſts, rather than enemies; and as the purſuit of them to their places of retreat in the woods, which covered their country, was both difficult and dangerous, they endeavoured to allure them from their

BOOK IX.

Bloody war with the Indians.

[k] Stith, p. 233.

inacceſ-

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1623. inacceſſible faſtneſſes by offers of peace and promiſes of oblivion, made with ſuch an artful appearance of ſincerity as deceived their crafty leader, and induced them to return to their former ſettlements, and reſume their uſual peaceful occupations. The behaviour of the two people ſeemed now to be perfectly reverſed. The Indians, like men acquainted with the principles of integrity and good faith, on which the intercourſe between nations is founded, confided in the reconciliation, and lived in abſolute ſecurity without ſuſpicion of danger; while the Engliſh, with perfidious craft, were preparing to imitate ſavages in their revenge and cruelty. On the approach of harveſt, when they knew an hoſtile attack would be moſt formidable and fatal, they fell ſuddenly upon all the Indian plantations, murdered every perſon on whom they could lay hold, and drove the reſt to the woods, where ſo many periſhed with hunger, that ſome of the tribes neareſt to the Engliſh were totally extirpated. This atrocious deed, which the perpetrators laboured to repreſent as a neceſſary act of retaliation, was followed by ſome happy effects. It delivered the colony ſo entirely from any dread of the Indians, that its ſettlements began again to extend, and its induſtry to revive.

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But unfortunately at this juncture the ſtate of the company in England, in which the property of Virginia and the government of the colony ſettled there were veſted, prevented it from ſeconding the efforts of the planters, by ſuch a reinforcement of men, and ſuch a ſupply of neceſſaries, as were requiſite to replace what they had loſt. The company was originally compoſed of many adventurers, and increaſed ſo faſt by the junction of new members, allured by the proſpect of gain, or the deſire of promoting a ſcheme of public utility, that its general courts formed a numerous aſſembly[1]. The operation of every political principle and paſſion, that ſpread through the kingdom, was felt in thoſe popular meetings, and influenced their deciſions. As towards the cloſe of James's reign more juſt and enlarged ſentiments with reſpect to conſtitutional liberty were diffuſed among the people, they came to underſtand their rights better and to aſſert them with greater boldneſs; a diſtinction formerly little known, but now familiar in Engliſh policy, began to be eſtabliſhed between the court and country parties, and the leaders of each endeavoured to derive power and conſequence from every quarter. Both exerted themſelves with emulation, in order

Company at home divided by factions.

[1] Stith, p. 272. 276.

to

BOOK IX. to obtain the direction of a body so numerous and respectable as the company of Virginian adventurers. In consequence of this, business had been conducted in every general court for some years, not with the temperate spirit of merchants deliberating concerning their mutual interest, but with the animosity and violence natural to numerous assemblies, by which rival factions contend for superiority[m].

James institutes an inquiry into their conduct.

As the King did not often assemble the great council of the nation in parliament, the general courts of the company became a theatre, on which popular orators displayed their talents; the proclamations of the crown, and acts of the privy council, with respect to the commerce and police of the colony, were canvassed there with freedom, and censured with severity, ill-suited to the lofty ideas which James entertained of his own wisdom, and the extent of his prerogative. In order to check this growing spirit of discussion, the ministers employed all their address and influence to gain as many members of the company as might give them the direction of their deliberations. But so unsuccessful were they in this attempt, that every measure proposed by them was reprobated by a vast majority, and

[m] Stith, p. 229, &c. Chalmers, p. 59.

ſometimes without any reaſon, but becauſe they were the propoſers of it. James, little favourable to the power of any popular aſſembly, and weary of contending with one over which he had laboured in vain to obtain an aſcendant, began to entertain thoughts of diſſolving the company, and new-modelling its conſtitution. Pretexts, neither unplauſible, nor deſtitute of ſome foundation, ſeemed to juſtify this meaſure. The ſlow progreſs of the colony, the large ſums of money expended, and great number of men who had periſhed in attempting to plant it, the late maſſacre by the Indians, and every diſaſter that had befallen the Engliſh from their firſt migration to America, were imputed ſolely to the inability of a numerous company to conduct an enterpriſe ſo complex and arduous. The nation felt ſenſibly its diſappointment in a ſcheme in which it had engaged with ſanguine expectations of advantage, and wiſhed impatiently for ſuch an impartial ſcrutiny into former proceedings as might ſuggeſt more ſalutary meaſures in the future adminiſtration of the colony. The preſent ſtate of its affairs, as well as the wiſhes of the people, ſeemed to call for the interpoſition of the crown; and James, eager to diſplay the ſuperiority of his royal wiſdom, in correcting thoſe errors into which the company had

BOOK IX. had been betrayed by inexperience in the arts of government, boldly undertook the work of reformation. Without regarding the rights conveyed to the company by their charter, and without the formality of any judicial proceeding for annulling it, he, by virtue of his prerogative, iſſued a commiſſion, empowering ſome of the judges, and other perſons of note, to examine into all the tranſactions of the company from its firſt eſtabliſhment, and to lay the reſult of their inquiries, together with their opinion concerning the moſt effectual means of rendering the colony more proſperous[n], before the privy council. At the ſame time, by a ſtrain of authority ſtill higher, he ordered all the records and papers of the company to be ſeized, and two of its principal officers to be arreſted. Violent and arbitrary as theſe acts of authority may now appear, the commiſſioners carried on their inquiry without any obſtruction, but what aroſe from ſome feeble and ineffectual remonſtrances of the company. The commiſſioners, though they conducted their ſcrutiny with much activity and vigour[o], did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company; but their report, with reſpect to its operations, ſeems to have been very unfavourable, as the

1623. May 9.

[n] Stith, p. 288.

[o] Smith's Travels, p. 165, &c.

King,

King, in consequence of it, signified to the company his intention of vesting the supreme government of the company in a governor and twelve assistants, to be resident in England, and the executive power in a council of twelve, which should reside in Virginia. The governor and assistants were to be originally appointed by the King. Future vacancies were to be supplied by the governor and his assistants, but their nomination was not to take effect until it should be ratified by the privy council. The twelve counsellors in Virginia were to be chosen by the governor and assistants; and this choice was likewise subjected to the review of the privy council. With an intention to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be deemed sacred; and for the more effectual security of it, all grants of lands from the former company were to be confirmed by the new one. In order to facilitate the execution of this plan, the King required the company instantly to surrender its charter into his hands[p].

Oct. 8. Company required to surrender its charter.

But here James and his ministers encountered a spirit, of which they seem not to have been aware. They found the members of the

Company refuses.

[p] Stith, p. 293, &c.

company

BOOK IX. company unwilling tamely to relinquish rights of franchises, conveyed to them with such legal formality, that upon faith in their validity they had expended considerable sums[q]; and still more averse to the abolition of a popular form of government, in which every proprietor had a voice, in order to subject a colony, in which they were deeply interested, to the dominion of a small junto absolutely dependant on the crown. Neither promises
Oct. 20. nor threats could induce them to depart from these sentiments; and in a general court the King's proposal was almost unanimously rejected, and a resolution taken to defend to the utmost their chartered rights, if these should be called in question in any court of justice. James, highly offended at their presumption in daring to oppose his will, directed a writ of *quo*
Nov. 10. *warranto* to be issued against the company, that the validity of its charter might be tried in the Court of King's Bench; and in order to aggravate the charge, by collecting additional proofs of mal-administration, he appointed some persons in whom he could confide, to repair to Virginia to inspect the state of the colony, and inquire into the conduct of the company, and of its officers there.

[q] Chalmers, p. 61.

THE

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THE law-suit in the King's Bench did not hang long in suspense. It terminated, as was usual in that reign, in a decision perfectly consonant to the wishes of the monarch. The charter was forfeited, the company was dissolved, and all the rights and privileges conferred upon it returned to the King, from whom they flowed[r].

Trial in the King's Bench, and dissolution of the company. June 1624.

SOME writers, particularly Stith, the most intelligent and best informed historian of Virginia, mention the dissolution of the company as a most disastrous event to the colony. Animated with liberal sentiments, imbibed in an age when the principles of liberty were more fully unfolded than under the reign of James, they viewed his violent and arbitrary proceedings on this occasion with such indignation, that their abhorrence of the means which he employed to accomplish his design seems to have rendered them incapable of contemplating its effects with discernment and candour. There is not perhaps any mode of governing an infant colony less friendly to its liberty, than the dominion of an exclusive corporation, possessed of all the powers which James had conferred upon the company of adventurers in Virginia. During se-

Defects in the first constitution of the colonies.

[r] Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 618, &c. Chalmers, p. 62.

BOOK IX. veral years the coloniſts can hardly be conſidered in any other light than as ſervants to the company, nouriſhed out of its ſtores, bound implicitly to obey its orders, and ſubjected to the moſt rigorous of all forms of government, that of martial law. Even after the native ſpirit of Engliſhmen began to rouſe under oppreſſion, and had extorted from their ſuperiors the right of enacting laws for the government of that community of which they were members, as no act, though approved of by all the branches of the provincial legiſlature, was held to be of legal force, until it was ratified by a general court in England, the company ſtill retained the paramount authority in its own hands. Nor was the power of the company more favourable to the proſperity of the colony than to its freedom. A numerous body of merchants, as long as its operations are purely commercial, may carry them on with diſcernment and ſucceſs. But the mercantile ſpirit ſeems ill adapted to conduct an enlarged and liberal plan of civil policy, and colonies have ſeldom grown up to maturity and vigour under its narrow and intereſted regulations. To the unavoidable defects in adminiſtration which this occaſioned, were added errors ariſing from inexperience. The Engliſh merchants of that age had not thoſe extenſive views which a general com-

merce

merce opens to such as have the direction of it. When they first began to venture out of the beaten track, they groped their way with timidity and hesitation. Unacquainted with the climate and soil of America, and ignorant of the productions best suited to them, they seem to have had no settled plan of improvement, and their schemes were continually varying. Their system of government was equally fluctuating. In the course of eighteen years ten different persons presided over the province as chief governors. No wonder that, under such administration, all the efforts to give vigour and stability to the colony should prove abortive, or produce only slender effects. These efforts, however, when estimated according to the ideas of that age, either with respect to commerce or to policy, were very considerable, and conducted with astonishing perseverance.

Weakness of the colony.

ABOVE an hundred and fifty thousand pounds were expended in this first attempt to plant an English colony in America[t]; and more than nine thousand persons were sent out from the mother country to people this new settlement. At the dissolution of the company, the nation, in return for this waste of treasure and of

[t] Smith's Travels, p. 42. 167.

BOOK IX. people, did not receive from Virginia an annual importation of commodities exceeding twenty thouſand pounds in value; and the colony was ſo far from having added ſtrength to the ſtate by an increaſe of population, that, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four, ſcarcely two thouſand perſons ſurvived [u]: a wretched remnant of the numerous emigrants who had flocked thither with ſanguine expectations of a very different fate.

Temporary council appointed for the government of Virginia.

THE company, like all unproſperous ſocieties, fell unpitied. The violent hand with which prerogative had invaded its rights was forgotten, and new proſpects of ſucceſs opened, under a form of government exempt from all the defects to which paſt diſaſters were imputed. The king and the nation concurred with equal ardour in reſolving to encourage the colony. Soon after the final judgment in the Court of King's Bench againſt the company, James appointed a council of twelve perſons to take the temporary direction of affairs in Virginia, that he might have leiſure to frame with deliberate conſideration proper regulations for the permanent government of the colony [v]. Pleaſed with ſuch an opportunity of exerciſing his talents as a legiſlator, he began

Aug. 26.

[u] Chalmers' Annals, p. 69. [v] Rymer, xvii. 618, &c.

to

to turn his attention towards the ſubject; but death prevented him from completing his plan. BOOK IX.

CHARLES I. on his acceſſion to the throne, adopted all his father's maxims with reſpect to the colony in Virginia. He declared it to be a part of the empire annexed to the crown, and immediately ſubordinate to its juriſdiction: he conferred the title of Governor on Sir George Yardely, and appointed him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, and a ſecretary, to exerciſe ſupreme authority there, and enjoined them to conform, in every point, to ſuch inſtructions as from time to time they might receive from him[w]. From the tenor of the King's commiſſion, as well as from the known ſpirit of his policy, it is apparent, that he intended to veſt every power of government, both legiſlative and executive, in the governor and council, without recourſe to the repreſentatives of the people, as poſſeſſing a right to enact laws for the community, or to impoſe taxes upon it. Yardely and his council, who ſeem to have been fit inſtruments for carrying this ſyſtem of arbitrary rule into execution, did not fail to put ſuch a conſtruction on the words of their commiſſion as was moſt favourable to

1625. March 27. Acceſſion of Charles I. His arbitrary government of the colony.

[w] Rymer, xviii. 72. 311.

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their own juriſdiction. During a great part of Charles's reign, Virginia knew no other law than the will of the Sovereign. Statutes were publiſhed, and taxes impoſed, without once calling the repreſentatives of the people to authoriſe them by their ſanction. At the ſame time that the coloniſts were bereaved of political rights, which they deemed eſſential to freemen and citizens, their private property was violently invaded. A proclamation was iſſued, by which, under pretexts equally abſurd and frivolous, they were prohibited from ſelling tobacco to any perſon but certain commiſſioners appointed by the King to purchaſe it on his account[x]; and they had the cruel mortification to behold the Sovereign, who ſhould have afforded them protection, engroſs all the profits of their induſtry, by ſeizing the only valuable commodity which they had to vend, and retaining the monopoly of it in his own hands. While the ſtaple of the colony in Virginia ſunk in value under the oppreſſion and reſtraints of a monopoly, property in land was rendered inſecure by various grants of it, which Charles inconſiderately beſtowed upon his favourites. Theſe were not only of ſuch exorbitant extent as to be unfavourable to the progreſs of

Grants and monopoly of tobacco.

[x] Rymer, xviii. 19.

culti-

cultivation; but from inattention, or imperfect acquaintance with the geography of the country, their boundaries were so inaccurately defined, that large tracts already occupied and planted were often included in them.

The murmurs and complaints which such a system of administration excited, were augmented by the rigour with which Sir John Harvey, who succeeded Yardely in the government of the colony[y], enforced every act of power. Rapacious, unfeeling, and haughty, he added insolence to oppression, and neither regarded the sentiments, nor listened to the remonstrances of the people under his command. The colonists, far from the seat of government, and overawed by authority derived from a royal commission, submitted long to his tyranny and exactions. Their patience was at last exhausted; and in a transport of popular rage and indignation, they seized their governor, and sent him a prisoner to England, accompanied by two of their number, whom they deputed to prefer their accusations against him to the King. But this attempt to redress their own wrongs, by a proceeding so summary and violent as is hardly consistent with any idea of regular government, and can be

1627.

Colonists seize on Harvey their governor, and send him prisoner to England.

[y] Rymer, xviii. 989.

BOOK IX. juſtified only in caſes of ſuch urgent neceſſity as rarely occur in civil ſociety, was altogether repugnant to every notion which Charles entertained with reſpect to the obedience due by ſubjects to their ſovereign. To him the conduct of the coloniſts appeared to be not only an uſurpation of his right to judge and to puniſh one of his own officers, but an open and audacious act of rebellion againſt his authority. Without deigning to admit their deputies into his preſence, or to hear one article of their charge againſt Harvey, the King inſtantly ſent him back to his former ſtation, with an ample renewal of all the powers belonging to it. But though Charles deemed this vigorous ſtep neceſſary in order to aſſert his own authority, and to teſtify his diſpleaſure with thoſe who had preſumed to offer ſuch an inſult to it, he ſeems to have been ſo ſenſible of the grievances under which the coloniſts groaned, and of the chief ſource from which they flowed, that ſoon after he not only removed a governor ſo juſtly odious to them, but named as a ſucceſſor Sir William Berkeley, a perſon far ſuperior to Harvey in rank and abilities, and ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by poſſeſſing all the popular virtues to which the other was a ſtranger[z].

He is releaſed by the King, and reinſtated in his government.

1639.

[z] Beverley's Hiſt. of Virg. p. 50. Chalmers' Annals, i. 118, &c.

UNDER

UNDER his government the colony in Virginia remained, with ſome ſhort intervals of interruption, almoſt forty years; and to his mild and prudent adminiſtration its increaſe and proſperity is in a great meaſure to be aſcribed. It was indebted, however, to the King himſelf for ſuch a reform of its conſtitution and policy, as gave a different aſpect to the colony, and animated all its operations with new ſpirit. Though the tenor of Sir William Berkeley's commiſſion was the ſame with that of his predeceſſor, he received inſtructions under the great ſeal, by which he was empowered to declare, that in all its concerns, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical, the colony was to be governed according to the laws of England: he was directed to iſſue writs for electing repreſentatives of the people, who, in conjunction with the governor and council, were to form a general aſſembly, and to poſſeſs ſupreme legiſlative authority in the community: he was ordered to eſtabliſh courts of juſtice, in which all queſtions, whether civil or criminal, were to be decided agreeably to the forms of judicial procedure in the mother country. It is not eaſy to diſcover what were the motives which induced a monarch, tenacious in adhering to any opinion or ſyſtem which he had once adopted, jealous to exceſs of his own rights, and adverſe on every occaſion

Sir W. Berkeley appointed governor. His mild and wiſe adminiſtration.

New privileges granted by Charles.

BOOK IX.

caſion to any extenſion of the privileges claimed by his people, to relinquiſh his original plan of adminiſtration in the colony, and to grant ſuch immunities to his ſubjects ſettled there. From the hiſtorians of Virginia; no leſs ſuperficial than ill-informed, no light can be derived with reſpect to this point. It is moſt probable, the dread of the ſpirit then riſing in Great Britain, extorted from Charles conceſſions ſo favourable to Virginia. After an intermiſſion of almoſt twelve years, the ſtate of his affairs compelled him to have recourſe to the great council of the nation. There his ſubjects would find a juriſdiction independent of the crown, and able to control its authority. There they hoped for legal redreſs of all their grievances. As the coloniſts in Virginia had applied for relief to a former parliament, it might be expected with certainty that they would lay their caſe before the firſt meeting of an aſſembly, in which they were ſecure of a favourable audience. Charles knew, that if the ſpirit of his adminiſtration in Virginia were to be tried by the maxims of the Engliſh conſtitution, it muſt be ſeverely reprehended. He was aware that many meaſures of greater moment in his government would be brought under a ſtrict review in parliament; and unwilling to give malcontents the advantage of adding a charge of oppreſſion

Motives that appear to have influenced the King.

oppreſſion in the remote part of his dominions to a catalogue of domeſtic grievances, he artfully endeavoured to take the merit of having granted voluntarily to his people in Virginia ſuch privileges as he foreſaw would be extorted from him. BOOK IX.

Virginia flouriſhes under the new government.

BUT though Charles eſtabliſhed the internal government of Virginia on a model ſimilar to that of the Engliſh conſtitution, and conferred on his ſubjects there all the rights of freemen and citizens, he was extremely ſolicitous to maintain its connection with the parent ſtate. With this view he inſtructed Sir William Berkeley ſtrictly to prohibit any commerce of the colony with foreign nations; and in order more certainly to ſecure excluſive poſſeſſion of all the advantages ariſing from the ſale of its productions, he was required to take a bond from the maſter of each veſſel that ſailed from Virginia, to land his cargo in ſome part of the King's dominions in Europe[a]. Even under this reſtraint, ſuch is the kindly influence of free government on ſociety, the colony advanced ſo rapidly in induſtry and population, that at the beginning of the civil war the Engliſh ſettled in it exceeded twenty thouſand[b].

[a] Chalmers' Annals, p. 219. 232.

[b] Ibid. p. 125.

GRATITUDE

BOOK IX.

Remains attached to the royal cauſe.

GRATITUDE towards a monarch, from whoſe hands they had received immunities which they had long wiſhed, but hardly expected to enjoy, the influence and example of a popular governor, paſſionately devoted to the intereſts of his maſter, concurred in preſerving inviolated loyalty among the coloniſts. Even after monarchy was aboliſhed, after one King had been beheaded, and another driven into exile, the authority of the crown continued to be
1650. acknowledged and revered in Virginia. Irritated at this open defiance of its power, the parliament iſſued an ordinance, declaring, that as the ſettlement in Virginia had been made at the coſt and by the people of England, it ought to be ſubordinate to and dependant upon the Engliſh commonwealth, and ſubject to ſuch laws and regulations as are or ſhall be made in parliament: that, inſtead of this dutiful ſubmiſſion, the coloniſts had diſclaimed the authority of the ſtate, and audaciouſly rebelled againſt it; that on this account they were denounced notorious traitors, and not only all veſſels belonging to natives of England, but thoſe of foreign nations, were prohibited to enter their ports, or to carry on any commerce with them.

Parliament makes war on Virginia.

IT was not the mode of that age to wage a war of words alone. The efforts of an high-

ſpirited

ſpirited government in aſſerting its own dignity were prompt and vigorous. A powerful ſquadron, with a conſiderable body of land forces, was diſpatched to reduce the Virginians to obedience. After compelling the colonies in Barbadoes and the other iſlands to ſubmit to the commonwealth, the ſquadron entered the Bay of Cheſapeak. Berkeley, with more courage than prudence, took arms to oppoſe this formidable armament; but he could not long maintain ſuch an unequal conteſt. His gallant reſiſtance, however, procured favourable terms to the people under his government. A general indemnity for all paſt offences was granted; they acknowledged the authority of the commonwealth, and were admitted to a participation of all the rights enjoyed by citizens[c]. Berkeley, firm to his principles of loyalty, diſdained to make any ſtipulation for himſelf; and chooſing to paſs his days far removed from the ſeat of a government which he deteſted, continued to reſide in Virginia as a private man, beloved and reſpected by all over whom he had formerly preſided.

1651.

Virginia is forced to acknowledge the commonwealth.

Nor ſatisfied with taking meaſures to ſubject the colonies, the commonwealth turned its

Reſtraints on the trade of the colony.

[c] Thurlow's State Papers, i. 197. Chalmers' Annals, p. 122. Beverley's Hiſt. p. 53.

attention

BOOK IX. attention towards the moſt effectual mode of retaining them in dependence on the parent ſtate, and of ſecuring to it the benefit of their increaſing commerce. With this view the parliament framed two laws, one of which expreſsly prohibited all mercantile intercourſe between the colonies and foreign ſtates, and the other ordained, that no production of Aſia, Africa, or America, ſhould be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in veſſels belonging to Engliſh owners, or to the people of the colonies ſettled there, and navigated by an Engliſh commander[d], and by crews of which the greater part muſt be Engliſhmen. But while the wiſdom of the commonwealth preſcribed the channel in which the trade of the colonies was to be carried on, it was ſolicitous to encourage the cultivation of the ſtaple commodity of Virginia by an act of parliament, which gave
1652. legal force to all the injunctions of James and Charles againſt planting tobacco in England[e].

UNDER governors appointed by the commonwealth, or by Cromwell, when he uſurped the ſupreme power, Virginia remained almoſt nine years in perfect tranquillity. During

[d] Scobel's Acts, p. 132. 176. [e] Ibid. p. 117.

that period, many adherents to the royal party, and among theſe ſome gentlemen of good families, in order to avoid danger and oppreſſion, to which they were expoſed in England, or in hopes of repairing their ruined fortunes, reſorted thither. Warmly attached to the cauſe for which they had fought and ſuffered, and animated with all the paſſions natural to men recently engaged in a fierce and long protracted civil war, they, by their intercourſe with the coloniſts, confirmed them in principles of loyalty, and added to their impatience and indignation under the reſtraints impoſed on their commerce by their new maſters. On the death of Mathews, the laſt governor named by Cromwell, the ſentiments and inclination of the people, no longer under the control of authority, burſt out with violence. They forced Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement; they unanimouſly elected him governor of the colony: and as he refuſed to act under an uſurped authority, they boldly erected the royal ſtandard, and acknowledging Charles II. to be their lawful ſovereign, proclaimed him with all his titles; and the Virginians long boaſted, that as they were the laſt of the King's ſubjects who renounced their allegiance, they were the firſt who returned to their duty[f].

The coloniſts diſſatisfied with theſe reſtraints.

Are the firſt to acknowledge Charles II.

[f] Beverley, p. 55. Chalmers, p. 124.

HAPPILY

BOOK IX.

Their loyalty ill rewarded.

HAPPILY for the people of Virginia, a revolution in England, no leſs ſudden and unexpected, ſeated Charles on the throne of his anceſtors, and ſaved them from the ſevere chaſtiſement to which their premature declaration in his favour muſt have expoſed them. On receiving the firſt account of this event, the joy and exultation of the colony were univerſal and unbounded. Theſe, however, were not of long continuance. Gracious but unproductive profeſſions of eſteem and good-will were the only return made by Charles to loyalty and ſervices, which in their own eſtimation were ſo diſtinguiſhed that no recompence was beyond what they might claim. If the King's neglect and ingratitude diſappointed all the ſanguine hopes which their vanity had founded on the merit of their paſt conduct, the ſpirit which influenced parliament in its commercial deliberations opened a proſpect that alarmed them with reſpect to their future ſituation. In framing regulations for the encouragement of trade, which, during the convulſions of civil war, and amidſt continual fluctuations in government, had met with ſuch obſtruction that it declined in every quarter; the Houſe of Commons, inſtead of granting the colonies that relief which they expected from the reſtraints in their commerce impoſed by the commonwealth and Cromwell, not only adopted all their ideas concerning this

branch

branch of legiſlation, but extended them farther. This produced the *act of navigation*, the moſt important and memorable of any in the ſtatute-book with reſpect to the hiſtory of Engliſh commerce. By it, beſides ſeveral momentous articles foreign to the ſubject of this work, it was enacted, that no commodities ſhould be imported into any ſettlement in Aſia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, but in veſſels of Engliſh or plantation built, whereof the maſter and three-fourths of the mariners ſhall be Engliſh ſubjects, under pain of forfeiting ſhip and goods; that none but natural-born ſubjects, or ſuch as have been naturalized, ſhall exerciſe the occupation of merchant or factor in any Engliſh ſettlement, under pain of forfeiting their goods and chattels; that no ſugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods uſed in dying, of the growth or manufacture of the colonies, ſhall be ſhipped from them to any other country but England; and in order to ſecure the performance of this, a ſufficient bond, with one ſurety, ſhall be given before ſailing by the owners, for a ſpecific ſum proportional to the rate of the veſſel employed by them[g]. The productions ſubjected to this reſtriction are

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Navigation act.

[g] 12 Car. II. c. 18.

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diſtinguiſhed, in the language of commerce and finance, by the name of *enumerated commodities;* and as induſtry in its progreſs furniſhed new articles of value, theſe have been ſucceſſively added to the roll, and ſubjected to the ſame reſtraint. Soon after, the act of navigation was extended, and additional reſtraints were impoſed, by a new law, which prohibited the importation of any European commodity into the colonies, but what was laden in England in veſſels navigated and manned as the act of navigation required. More effectual proviſion was made by this law for exacting the penalties to which the tranſgreſſors of the act of navigation were ſubjected; and the principles of policy, on which the various regulations contained in both ſtatutes are founded, were openly avowed in a declaration, that as the plantations beyond ſeas are inhabited and peopled by ſubjects of England, they may be kept in a firmer dependance upon it, and rendered yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it, in the further employment and increaſe of Engliſh ſhipping and ſeamen, as well as in the vent of Engliſh woollen and other manufactures and commodities; and in making England a ſtaple, not only of the commodities of thoſe plantations, but alſo of the commodities of other countries and places, for the ſupplying

1663.

of

of them; and it being the uſage of other nations to keep the trade of their plantations to themſelves[h]. In proſecution of thoſe favourite maxims, the Engliſh legiſlature proceeded a ſtep farther. As the act of navigation had left the people of the colonies at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one plantation to another without paying any duty, it ſubjected them to a tax equivalent to what was paid by the conſumers of theſe commodities in England[i]. BOOK IX. 1672.

Effects of the act.

By theſe ſucceſſive regulations, the plan of ſecuring to England a monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, and of ſhutting up every other channel into which it might be diverted, was perfected and reduced into complete ſyſtem. On one ſide of the Atlantic theſe regulations have been extolled as an extraordinary effort of political ſagacity, and have been conſidered as the great charter of national commerce, to which the preſent ſtate is indebted for all its opulence and power. On the other, they have been execrated as a code of oppreſſion, more ſuited to the illiberality of mercantile ideas, than to extenſive views of legiſlative wiſdom. Which of theſe opinions is beſt founded, I ſhall examine at large in

[h] 15 Car. II. c. 7. [i] 25 Car. II. c. 7.

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another part of this work. But in writing the hiſtory of the Engliſh ſettlements in America, it was neceſſary to trace the progreſs of thoſe reſtraining laws with accuracy, as in every ſubſequent tranſaction we may obſerve a perpetual exertion, on the part of the mother-country, to enforce and extend them; and on the part of the colonies, endeavours no leſs unremitting, to elude or to obſtruct their operation.

Coloniſts remonſtrate againſt the act.

HARDLY was the act of navigation known in Virginia, and its effects began to be felt, when the colony remonſtrated againſt it as a grievance, and petitioned earneſtly for relief. But the commercial ideas of Charles and his miniſters coincided ſo perfectly with thoſe of parliament, that, inſtead of liſtening with a favourable ear to their applications, they laboured aſſiduouſly to carry the act into ſtrict execution. For this purpoſe, inſtructions were iſſued to the governor, forts were built on the banks of the principal rivers, and ſmall veſſels appointed to cruiſe on the coaſt. The Virginians, ſeeing no proſpect of obtaining exemption from the act, ſet themſelves to evade it, and found means, notwithſtanding the vigilance with which they were watched, of carrying on a conſiderable clandeſtine trade with foreigners, particularly with the

the Dutch ſettled on Hudſon's River. Emboldened by obſerving diſaffection ſpread through the colony, ſome veteran ſoldiers who had ſerved under Cromwell, and had been baniſhed to Virginia, formed a deſign of rendering themſelves maſters of the country, and of aſſerting its independence on England. This raſh project was diſcovered by one of their aſſociates, and diſconcerted by the vigorous exertions of Sir William Berkeley. But the ſpirit of diſcontent, though repreſſed, was not extinguiſhed. Every day ſomething occurred to revive and to nouriſh it. As it is with extreme difficulty that commerce can be turned into a new channel, tobacco, the ſtaple of the colony, ſunk prodigiouſly in value, when they were compelled to ſend it all to one market. It was ſome time before England could furniſh them regularly full aſſortments of thoſe neceſſary articles, without which the induſtry of the colony could not be carried on, or its proſperity ſecured. Encouraged by the ſymptoms of general languor and deſpondency which this declining ſtate of the colony occaſioned, the Indians ſeated towards the heads of the rivers ventured firſt to attack the remote ſettlements, and then to make incurſions into the interior parts of the country. Unexpected as theſe hoſtilities were, from a people who during a

1663.

Colony attacked by the Indians.

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long period had lived in friendſhip with the Engliſh, a meaſure taken by the King ſeems to have excited ſtill greater terror among the moſt opulent people of the colony. Charles had imprudently imitated the example of his father, by granting ſuch large tracts of land in Virginia to ſeveral of his courtiers, as tended to unſettle the diſtribution of property in the country, and to render the title of the moſt ancient planters to their eſtates precarious and queſtionable. From thoſe various cauſes, which in a greater or leſſer degree affected every individual in the colony, the indignation of the people became general, and was worked up to ſuch a pitch, that nothing was wanting to precipitate them into the moſt deſperate acts but ſome leader qualified to unite and to direct their operations [k].

Diſcontents produced by the grants of land by the crown.

1676.

An inſurrection in Virginia headed by N. Bacon.

SUCH a leader they found in Nathaniel Bacon, a colonel of militia, who, though he had been ſettled in Virginia only three years, had acquired by popular manners, an inſinuating addreſs, and the conſideration derived from having been regularly trained in England to the profeſſion of law, ſuch general eſteem, that he had been admitted into the council, and was

[k] Chalmers' Annals, ch. 10. 13, 14, paſſim. Beverley, p. 58, &c.

regarded

regarded as one of the moſt reſpectable perſons in the colony. Bacon was ambitious, eloquent, daring, and, prompted either by honeſt zeal to redreſs the public wrongs, or allured by hopes of raiſing himſelf to diſtinction and power, he mingled with the mal-contents, and by his bold harangues and confident promiſes of removing all their grievances, he inflamed them almoſt to madneſs. As the devaſtations committed by the Indians was the calamity moſt ſenſibly felt by the people, he accuſed the governor of having neglected the proper meaſures for repelling the invaſions of the ſavages, and exhorted them to take arms in their own defence, and to exterminate that odious race. Great numbers aſſembled, and choſe Bacon to be their general. He applied to the governor for a commiſſion, confirming this election of the people, and offered to march inſtantly againſt the common enemy. Berkeley, accuſtomed by long poſſeſſion of ſupreme command to high ideas of the reſpect due to his ſtation, conſidered this tumultuary armament as an open inſult to his authority, and ſuſpected that, under ſpecious appearances, Bacon concealed moſt dangerous deſigns. Unwilling, however, to give farther provocation to an incenſed multitude, by a direct refuſal of what they demanded, he thought it prudent to negociate,

BOOK IX.

BOOK IX. in order to gain time; and it was not until he found all endeavours to ſoothe them ineffectual, that he iſſued a proclamation, requiring them, in the King's name, under the pain of being denounced rebels, to diſperſe.

But Bacon, ſenſible that he had now advanced ſo far as rendered it impoſſible to recede with honour or ſafety, inſtantly took the only reſolution that remained in his ſituation. At the head of a choſen body of his followers, he marched rapidly to James-Town, and ſurrounding the houſe where the governor and council were aſſembled, demanded the commiſſion for which he had formerly applied. Berkeley, with the proud indignant ſpirit of a cavalier, diſdaining the requiſitions of a rebel, peremptorily refuſed to comply, and calmly preſented his naked breaſt to the weapons which were pointed againſt it. The council, however, foreſeeing the fatal conſequences of driving an enraged multitude, in whoſe power they were, to the laſt extremities of violence, prepared a commiſſion, conſtituting Bacon general of all the forces in Virginia, and by their intreaties prevailed on the governor to ſign it. Bacon with his troops retired in triumph. Hardly was the council delivered by his departure

daily increaſing and more fully underſtood, ſpeedily diſpatched a ſmall ſquadron, with ſuch a number of regular troops as Berkeley had required. Bacon and his followers received information of this armament, but were not intimidated at its approach. They boldly determined to oppoſe it with open force, and declared it to be conſiſtent with their duty and allegiance, to treat all who ſhould aid Sir William Berkeley as enemies, until they ſhould have an opportunity of laying their grievances before their ſovereign[1].

1677. Death of Bacon terminates the rebellion.

But while both parties prepared, with equal animoſity, to involve their country in the horrors of civil war, an event happened, which quieted the commotion almoſt as ſuddenly as it had been excited. Bacon, when ready to take the field, ſickened and died. None of his followers poſſeſſed ſuch talents, or were ſo much objects of the people's confidence, as entitled them to aſpire to the ſupreme command. Deſtitute of a leader to conduct and animate them, their ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs ſubſided; mutual diſtruſt accompanied this univerſal deſpondency; all began to wiſh for an accommodation; and after a ſhort nego-

[1] Beverley's Hiſt. p. 75, 76.

ciation

BOOK IX. ciation with Sir William Berkeley, they laid down their arms, and submitted to his government, on obtaining a promise of general pardon.

THUS terminated an insurrection, which, in the annals of Virginia, is distinguished by the name of *Bacon's rebellion*. During seven months this daring leader was master of the colony, while the royal governor was shut up in a remote and ill-peopled corner of it. What were the real motives that prompted him to take arms, and to what length he intended to carry his plans of reformation, either in commerce or government, it is not easy to discover, in the scanty materials from which we derive our information with respect to this transaction. It is probable, that his conduct, like that of other adventurers in faction, would have been regulated chiefly by events; and accordingly as these proved favourable or adverse, his views and requisitions would have been extended or circumscribed.

An Assembly called; its moderation.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, as soon as he was reinstated in his office, called together the representatives of the people, that by their advice and authority public tranquillity and order might be perfectly established. Though this assembly met a few weeks after the death of

Bacon, while the memory of reciprocal injuries was ſtill recent, and when the paſſions excited by ſuch a fierce conteſt had but little time to ſubſide, its proceedings were conducted with a moderation ſeldom exerciſed by the ſucceſsful party in a civil war. No man ſuffered capitally; a ſmall number were ſubjected to fines; others were declared incapable of holding any office of truſt; and with thoſe exceptions the promiſe of general indemnity was confirmed by law. Soon after, Berkeley was recalled, and Colonel Jefferys was appointed his ſucceſſor.

State of the colony till the Revolution in 1688.

FROM that period to the Revolution in 1688, there is ſcarcely any memorable occurrence in the hiſtory of Virginia. A peace was concluded with the Indians. Under ſeveral ſucceſſive governors, adminiſtration was carried on in the colony with the ſame arbitrary ſpirit that diſtinguiſhed the latter years of Charles II. and the precipitate counſels of James II. The Virginians, with a conſtitution, which, in form, reſembled that of England, enjoyed hardly any portion of the liberty which that admirable ſyſtem of policy is framed to ſecure. They were deprived even of the laſt conſolation of the oppreſſed, the power of complaining, by a law which, under ſevere penalties,

BOOK IX. penalties, prohibited them from ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the governor, or defaming, either by words or writing, the adminiſtration of the colony[m]. Still, however, the laws reſtraining their commerce were felt as an intolerable grievance, and nouriſhed in ſecret a ſpirit of diſcontent, which, from the neceſſity of concealing it, acquired a greater degree of acrimony. But notwithſtanding thoſe unfavourable circumſtances, the colony continued to increaſe. The uſe of tobacco was now become general in Europe; and though it had fallen conſiderably in price, the extent of demand compenſated that diminution, and by giving conſtant employment to the induſtry of the planters diffuſed wealth among them. At the Revolution the number of inhabitants in the colony exceeded ſixty thouſand[n], and in the courſe of twenty-eight years its population had been more than doubled[o].

[m] Beverley, p. 81. Chalmers, p. 341.
[n] Chalmers' Annals, p. 356. [o] Ibid. p. 125.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK X.

BOOK X.

Hiſtory of the northern colony, and of the Plymouth company.

WHEN James I., in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix, made that magnificent partition, which has been mentioned, of a vaſt region in North America, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, between two trading companies of his ſubjects, he eſtabliſhed the reſidence of the one in London, and of the other in Plymouth. The former was authorized to ſettle in the ſouthern, and the latter in the northern part of this territory, then diſtinguiſhed by the general name of Virginia. This arrangement ſeems to have been formed upon the idea of ſome ſpeculative refiner, who aimed at diffuſing the ſpirit of induſtry, by fixing the ſeat of one branch of the trade that was now to be opened, on the eaſt coaſt of the

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the iſland, and the other on the weſt. But London poſſeſſes ſuch advantages of ſituation, that the commercial wealth and activity of England have always centered in the capital. At the beginning of the laſt century, the ſuperiority of the metropolis in both theſe reſpects was ſo great, that though the powers and privileges conferred by the King on the two trading companies were preciſely the ſame, the adventurers ſettled in Plymouth fell far ſhort of thoſe in London, in the vigour and ſucceſs of their efforts towards accompliſhing the purpoſe of their inſtitution. Though the operations of the Plymouth company were animated by the public-ſpirited zeal of Sir John Popham, chief juſtice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and ſome other gentlemen of the weſt, all its exertions were feeble and unfortunate.

1606. First attempts to ſettle on the northern coaſt.

THE firſt veſſel fitted out by the company was taken by the Spaniards. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven, a feeble ſettlement was made at Sagahadoc; but, on account of the rigour of the climate, was ſoon relinquiſhed, and for ſome time nothing further was attempted than a few fiſhing voyages to Cape Cod, or a pitiful traffic with the natives for ſkins and oil. One of the veſſels equipped for this

this purpoſe was commanded by Captain Smith, whoſe name has been ſo often mentioned with diſtinction in the Hiſtory of Virginia. The adventure was proſperous and lucrative. But his ardent enterpriſing mind could not confine its attention to objects ſo unequal to it as the petty details of a trading voyage. He employed a part of his time in exploring the coaſt, and in delineating its bays and harbours. On his return, he laid a map of it before Prince Charles, and, with the uſual exaggeration of diſcoverers, painted the beauty and excellence of the country in ſuch glowing colours, that the young prince, in the warmth of admiration, declared, that it ſhould be called New England[a]: a name which effaced that of Virginia, and by which it is ſtill diſtinguiſhed.

Smith's ſurveys that coaſt, and calls it New England. 1614.

THE favourable accounts of the country by Smith, as well as the ſucceſs of his voyage, ſeem to have encouraged private adventurers to proſecute the trade on the coaſt of New England with greater briſkneſs; but did not inſpire the languiſhing company of Plymouth with ſuch vigour as to make any new attempt towards eſtabliſhing a permanent colony there.

Firſt attempts to ſettle unſucceſsful.

[a] Smith's Trav. Book vi. p. 203, &c. Purchas, iv. p. 1837.

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Something more than the proſpect of diſtant gain to themſelves, or of future advantages to their country, was requiſite, in order to induce men to abandon the place of their nativity, to migrate to another quarter of the globe, and endure innumerable hardſhips under an untried climate, and in an uncultivated land, covered with woods, or occupied by fierce and hoſtile tribes of ſavages. But what mere attention to private emolument or to national utility could not effect, was accompliſhed by the operation of an higher principle. Religion had gradually excited among a great body of the people a ſpirit that fitted them remarkably for encountering the dangers, and ſurmounting the obſtacles, which had hitherto rendered abortive the ſchemes of colonization in that part of America allotted to the company of Plymouth. As the various ſettlements in New England are indebted for their origin to this ſpirit, as in the courſe of our narrative we ſhall diſcern its influence mingling in all their tranſactions, and giving a peculiar tincture to the character of the people, as well as to their inſtitutions, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, it becomes neceſſary to trace its riſe and progreſs with attention and accuracy.

Religious diſputes give riſe to the New England colony.

When the ſuperſtitions and corruptions of the Romiſh church prompted different nations of

Different ſentiments reſpecting

of Europe to throw off its yoke, and to withdraw from its communion, the mode as well as degree of their ſeparation was various. Wherever reformation was ſudden, and carried on by the people without authority from their rulers, or in oppoſition to it, the rupture was violent and total. Every part of the ancient fabric was overturned, and a different ſyſtem, not only with reſpect to doctrine, but to church government, and the external rites of worſhip, was eſtabliſhed. Calvin, who, by his abilities, learning, and auſterity of manners, had acquired high reputation and authority in the Proteſtant churches, was a zealous advocate for this plan of thorough reformation. He exhibited a model of that pure form of eccleſiaſtical policy, which he approved in the conſtitution of the church of Geneva. The ſimplicity of its inſtitutions, and ſtill more their repugnancy to thoſe of the Popiſh church, were ſo much admired by all the ſtricter reformers, that it was copied with ſome ſmall variations, in Scotland, in the republic of the United Provinces, in the dominions of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, in thoſe of the Elector Palatine, and in the churches of the Hugonots in France.

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church government, that prevailed at the Reformation.

But in thoſe countries where the ſteps of departure from the church of Rome were

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taken with greater deliberation, and regulated by the wiſdom or policy of the ſupreme magiſtrate, the ſeparation was not ſo wide. Of all the reformed churches, that of England has deviated leaſt from the ancient inſtitutions. The violent but capricious ſpirit of Henry VIII. who, though he diſclaimed the ſupremacy, revered the tenets of the Papal ſee, checked innovations in doctrine or worſhip during his reign. When his ſon aſcended the throne, and the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed by law, the cautious prudence of Archbiſhop Cranmer moderated the zeal of thoſe who had eſpouſed the new opinions. Though the articles to be recogniſed as the ſyſtem of national faith were framed conformably to the doctrines of Calvin, his notions with reſpect to church government and the mode of worſhip were not adopted. As the hierarchy in England was incorporated with the civil policy of the kingdom, and conſtituted a member of the legiſlature, archbiſhops, and biſhops, with all the ſubordinate ranks of eccleſiaſtics ſubject to them, were continued according to ancient form, and with the ſame dignity and juriſdiction. The peculiar veſtments in which the clergy performed their ſacred functions, bowing at the name of Jeſus, kneeling at receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the ſign of the Croſs in baptiſm, the uſe of the Ring in marriage,

riage, with ſeveral other rites to which long uſage had accuſtomed the people, and which time had rendered venerable, were ſtill retained. But though Parliament enjoined the obſervance of theſe ceremonies under very ſevere penalties [b], ſeveral of the more zealous clergy entertained ſcruples with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of complying with this injunction: and the vigilance and authority of Cranmer and Ridley with difficulty ſaved their infant church from the diſgrace of a ſchiſm on this account.

Religious perſecution by Mary.

On the acceſſion of Mary, the furious zeal with which ſhe perſecuted all who had adopted the tenets of the reformers forced many eminent proteſtants, laymen as well as eccleſiaſtics, to ſeek an aſylum on the continent. Francfort, Geneva, Baſil, and Straſburgh, received them with affectionate hoſpitality as ſufferers in the cauſe of truth, and the magiſtrates permitted them to aſſemble by themſelves for religious worſhip. The exiles who took up their reſidence in the two former cities modelled their little congregations according to the ideas of Calvin, and, with a ſpirit natural to men in their ſituation, eagerly adopted inſtitutions which appeared to be farther removed from the

[b] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

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ſuperſtitions of popery than thoſe of their own church. They returned to England as ſoon as Elizabeth re-eſtabliſhed the proteſtant religion, not only with more violent antipathy to the opinions and practices of that church, by which they had been oppreſſed, but with a ſtrong attachment to that mode of worſhip to which they had been for ſome years accuſtomed. As they were received by their countrymen with the veneration due to confeſſors, they exerted all the influence derived from that opinion, in order to obtain ſuch a reformation in the Engliſh ritual as might bring it nearer to the ſtandard of purity in foreign churches. Some of the Queen's moſt confidential miniſters were warmly diſpoſed to co-operate with them in this meaſure. But Elizabeth paid little regard to the inclinations of the one, or the ſentiments of the other. Fond of pomp and ceremony, accuſtomed, according to the mode of that age, to ſtudy religious controverſy, and poſſeſſing, like her father, ſuch confidence in her own underſtanding, that ſhe never doubted her capacity to judge and decide with reſpect to every point in diſpute between contending ſects[c], ſhe choſe to act

Queen Elizabeth.

[c] Of the high idea which Elizabeth entertained with reſpect to her own ſuperior ſkill in theology, as well as the haughty,

act according to her own ideas, which led her rather to approach nearer to the church of Rome, in the parade of external worſhip, than to widen the breach by aboliſhing any rite already eſtabliſhed [d]. An act of parliament, in the firſt year of her reign, not only required

haughty tone in which ſhe dictated to her ſubjects what they ought to believe, we have a ſtriking picture in her ſpeech at the cloſe of the parliament, A. D. 1585.—"One thing I may not overſkip. Religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take root, and being corrupted, may mar all the tree. And that there be ſome fault-finders with the order of the clergy, which ſo may make a ſlander to myſelf, and to the church, whoſe over-ruler God hath made me, whoſe negligence cannot be excuſed, if any ſchiſms or errors heretical were ſuffered. Thus much I muſt ſay, that ſome faults and negligences muſt grow and be, as in all other great charges it happeneth; and what vocation without? All which, if you my lords of the clergy do not amend, I mean to depoſe you. Look ye, therefore, well to your charges. This may be amended without needleſs or open exclamations. I am ſuppoſed to have many ſtudies, but moſt philoſophical. I muſt yield this to be true, that I ſuppoſe few (that be not profeſſors) have read more. And I need not tell you, that I am not ſo ſimple that I underſtand not, nor ſo forgetful that I remember not; and yet, amidſt my many volumes, I hope God's book hath not been my ſeldomeſt lectures, in which we find that which by reaſon all ought to believe. I ſee many over-bold with God Almighty, making too many ſubtle ſcannings of his bleſſed will. The preſumption is ſo great that I may not ſuffer it," &c. D'Ewes's Journal, p. 328.

[d] Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, i. 138. 176.

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an exact conformity to the mode of worſhip preſcribed in the ſervice book, under moſt rigorous penalties, but empowered the Queen to enjoin the obſervance of ſuch additional ceremonies as might tend, in her opinion, to render the public exerciſes of devotion more decent and edifying [c].

Puritans.

THE advocates for a farther reformation, notwithſtanding this cruel diſappointment of the ſanguine hopes with which they returned to their native country, did not relinquiſh their deſign. They diſſeminated their opinions with great induſtry among the people. They extolled the purity of foreign churches, and enveighed againſt the ſuperſtitious practices with which religion was defiled in their own church. In vain did the defenders of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem repreſent that theſe forms and ceremonies were in themſelves things perfectly indifferent, which, from long uſage, were viewed with reverence; and, by their impreſſion upon the ſenſes and imagination, tended not only to fix the attention, but to affect the heart, and to warm it with devout and worthy ſentiments. The Puritans (for by that name ſuch as ſcrupled to comply with what was enjoined by the act of

[c] 1 Eliz. c. 2.

uniformity

uniformity were diſtinguiſhed) maintained, that the rites in queſtion were inventions of men, ſuperadded to the ſimple and reaſonable ſervice required in the word of God; that from the exceſſive ſolicitude with which conformity to them was exacted, the multitude muſt conceive ſuch an high opinion of their value and importance, as might induce them to reſt ſatisfied with the mere form and ſhadow of religion, and to imagine that external obſervances may compenſate for the want of inward ſanctity; that ceremonies which had been long employed by a ſociety manifeſtly corrupt, to veil its own defects, and to ſeduce and faſcinate mankind, ought now to be rejected as relics of ſuperſtition unworthy of a place in a church which gloried in the name of *Reformed*.

Intolerant ſpirit of the church.

THE people, to whom in every religious controverſy the final appeal is made, liſtened to the arguments of the contending parties; and it is obvious to which of them, men who had lately beheld the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of popery, and felt its perſecuting rage, would lend the moſt favourable ear. The deſire of a farther ſeparation from the church of Rome ſpread wide through the nation. The preachers who contended for this, and who refuſed to wear the ſurplice, and other veſtments peculiar to their

BOOK X. their order, or to obſerve the ceremonies enjoined by law, were followed and admired, while the miniſtry of the zealous advocate for conformity was deſerted, and their perſons often expoſed to inſult. For ſome time the non-conformiſts were connived at; but as their number and boldneſs increaſed, the interpoſition both of ſpiritual and civil authority was deemed neceſſary in order to check their progreſs. To the diſgrace of Chriſtians, the ſacred rights of conſcience and private judgment, as well as the charity and mutual forbearance ſuitable to the mild ſpirit of the religion which they profeſſed, were in that age little underſtood. Not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itſelf in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was then unknown. Every church claimed a right to employ the hand of power for the protection of truth and the extirpation of error. The laws of her kingdom armed Elizabeth with ample authority for this purpoſe, and ſhe was abundantly diſpoſed to exerciſe it with full vigor. Many of the moſt eminent among the Puritan clergy were deprived of their benefices, others were impriſoned, ſeveral were fined, and ſome put to death. But perſecution, as uſually happens, inſtead of extinguiſhing, inflamed their zeal to ſuch a height, that the juriſdiction of the ordinary courts of law was deemed inſufficient

to

to ſuppreſs it, and a new tribunal was eſtabliſhed under the title of the *high commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical affairs*, whoſe powers and mode of procedure were hardly leſs odious or leſs hoſtile to the principles of juſtice than thoſe of the Spaniſh inquiſition. Several attempts were made in the Houſe of Commons to check theſe arbitrary proceedings, and to moderate the rage of perſecution; but the Queen always impoſed ſilence upon thoſe who preſumed to deliver any opinion with reſpect to a matter appertaining ſolely to her prerogative, in a tone as imperious and arrogant as was ever uſed by Henry VIII. in addreſſing his parliaments; and ſo tamely obſequious were the guardians of the people's rights that they not only obeyed thoſe unconſtitutional commands, but conſented to an act, by which every perſon who ſhould abſent himſelf from church during a month was ſubjected to puniſhment by fine and impriſonment; and if after conviction he did not within three months renounce his erroneous opinions and conform to the laws, he was then obliged to abjure the realm; but if he either refuſed to comply with this condition, or returned from baniſhment, he ſhould be put to death as a felon without benefit of clergy[f].

[f] 35 Eliz. c. 1.

By

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Entire ſeparation of the Puritans from the church.

By this iniquitous ſtatute, equally repugnant to ideas of civil and of religious liberty, the Puritans were cut off from any hope of obtaining either reformation in the church or indulgence to themſelves. Exaſperated by this rigorous treatment, their antipathy to the eſtabliſhed religion increaſed, and, with the progreſs natural to violent paſſions, carried them far beyond what was their original aim. The firſt Puritans did not entertain any ſcruples with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of epiſcopal government, and ſeem to have been very unwilling to withdraw from communion with the church of which they were members. But when they were thrown out of her boſom, and conſtrained to hold ſeparate aſſemblies for the worſhip of God, their followers no longer viewed a ſociety by which they were oppreſſed with reverence or affection. Her government, her diſcipline, her ritual, were examined with minute attention. Every error was pointed out, and every defect magnified. The more boldly any teacher inveighed againſt the corruptions of the church, he was liſtened to with greater approbation; and the farther he urged his diſciples to depart from ſuch an impure community, the more eagerly did they follow him. By degrees, ideas of eccleſiaſtical policy, altogether repugnant to thoſe of the

eſtabliſhed church, gained footing in the nation. The more ſober and learned Puritans inclined to that form which is known by the name of Preſbyterian. Such as were more thoroughly poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of innovation, however much they might approve the equality of paſtors which that ſyſtem eſtabliſhes, reprobated the authority which it veſts in various judicatories, deſcending from one to another in regular ſubordination, as inconſiſtent with Chriſtian liberty.

THESE wild notions floated for ſome time in the minds of the people, and amuſed them with many ideal ſchemes of eccleſiaſtical policy. At length Robert Brown, a popular declaimer in high eſtimation, reduced them to a ſyſtem, on which he modelled his own congregation. He taught, that the church of England was corrupt, and antichriſtian, its miniſters not lawfully ordained, its ordinances and ſacraments invalid; and therefore he prohibited his people to hold communion with it in any religious function. He maintained, that a ſociety of Chriſtians, uniting together to worſhip God, conſtituted a church poſſeſſed of complete juriſdiction in the conduct of its own affairs, independent of any other ſociety, and unaccountable to any ſuperior, that the prieſthood was neither a diſtinct order in the church,

Browniſts. 1580.

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church, nor conferred an indelible character; but that every man qualified to teach might be ſet apart for that office by the election of the brethren, and by impoſition of their hands; in like manner, by their authority, he might be diſcharged from that function, and reduced to the rank of a private chriſtian; that every perſon, when admitted a member of a church, ought to make a public confeſſion of his faith, and give evidence of his being in a ſtate of favour with God; and that all the affairs of a church were to be regulated by the deciſion of the majority of its members.

Brownists take refuge in Holland.

THIS democratical form of government, which aboliſhed all diſtinction of ranks in the church, and conferred an equal portion of power on every individual, accorded ſo perfectly with the levelling genius of fanaticiſm, that it was fondly adopted by many as a complete model of chriſtian policy. From their founder, they were denominated Browniſts; and as their tenets were more hoſtile to the eſtabliſhed religion than thoſe of other ſeparatiſts, the fierceſt ſtorm of perſecution fell upon their heads. Many of them were fined or impriſoned, and ſome put to death; and though Brown, with a levity of which there are few examples among enthuſiaſts whoſe vanity has been ſoothed by being recogniſed

as heads of a party, abandoned his diſciples, conformed to the eſtabliſhed religion, and accepted of a benefice in the church, the ſect not only ſubſiſted, but continued to ſpread, eſpecially among perſons in the middle and lower ranks of life. But as all their motions were carefully watched, both by the eccleſiaſtical and civil courts, which, as often as they were detected, puniſhed them with the utmoſt rigor, a body of them, weary of living in a ſtate of continual danger and alarm, fled to Holland, and ſettled in Leyden, under the care of Mr. John Robinſon, their paſtor. There they reſided for ſeveral years unmoleſted and obſcure. But many of their aged members dying, and ſome of the younger marrying into Dutch families, while their church received no increaſe, either by recruits from England, or by proſelytes gained in the country, they began to be afraid, that all their high attainments in ſpiritual knowledge would be loſt, and that perfect fabric of policy, which they had erected, would be diſſolved, and conſigned to oblivion, if they remained longer in a ſtrange land.

Remove from thence to America.

DEEPLY affected with the proſpect of an event, which to them appeared fatal to the intereſts of truth, they thought themſelves called, in order to prevent it, to remove to

ſome

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ſome other place, where they might profeſs and propagate their opinions with greater ſucceſs. America, in which their countrymen were at that time intent on planting colonies, preſented itſelf to their thoughts. They flattered themſelves with hopes of being permitted, in that remote region, to follow their own ideas in religion without diſturbance. The dangers and hardſhips to which all former emigrants to America had been expoſed, did not deter them. "They were well weaned (according to their own deſcription) from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a ſtrange land. They were knit together in a ſtrict and ſacred band, by virtue of which they held themſelves obliged to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. It was not with them, as with other men, whom ſmall things could diſcourage, or ſmall diſcontents cauſe to wiſh themſelves at home again[s]." The firſt object of their ſolicitude was to ſecure the free exerciſe of their religion. For this purpoſe they applied to the King; and though James refuſed to give them any explicit aſſurance of toleration, they ſeem to have obtained from him ſome promiſe of his connivance, as long as they continued to

1618.

[s] Hutchinſon's Hiſt. of Maſſach. p. 4.

demean

demean themſelves quietly. So eager were they to accompliſh their favourite ſcheme, that, relying on this precarious ſecurity, they began to negociate with the Virginian company for a tract of land within the limits of their patent. This they eaſily procured from a ſociety deſirous of encouraging migration to a vaſt country, of which they had hitherto occupied only a few ſpots.

1620. Sept. 6. Firſt attempt to ſettle at Maſſachuſets Bay.

AFTER the utmoſt efforts, their preparations fell far ſhort of what was requiſite for beginning the ſettlement of a new colony. A hundred and twenty perſons ſailed from England in a ſingle ſhip on this arduous undertaking. The place of their deſtination was Hudſon's River, where they intended to ſettle; but their captain having been bribed, as is ſaid, by the Dutch, who had then formed a ſcheme, which they afterwards accompliſhed, of planting a colony there, carried them ſo far towards the north, that the firſt land in America which they made was Cape Cod. They were now not only beyond the precincts of the territory which had been granted to them, but beyond thoſe of the company from which they derived their right. The ſeaſon, however, was ſo far advanced, and ſickneſs raged ſo violently among men unaccuſtomed to the hardſhips of a long

Nov. 11.

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voyage, that it became neceſſary to take up their abode there. After exploring the coaſt, they choſe for their ſtation a place now belonging to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, probably out of reſpect to that company, within whoſe juriſdiction they now found themſelves ſituated[h].

Settle at New Plymouth.

No ſeaſon could be more unfavourable to ſettlement than that in which the colony landed. The winter, which, from the predominance of cold in America, is rigorous to a degree unknown in parallel latitudes of our hemiſphere, was already ſet in; and they were ſlenderly provided with what was requiſite for comfortable ſubſiſtence, under a climate conſiderably more ſevere than that for which they had made preparation. Above one half of them was cut off before the return of ſpring, by diſeaſes, or by famine: the ſurvivors, inſtead of having leiſure to attend to the ſupply of their own wants, were compelled to take arms againſt the ſavages in their neighbourhood. Happily for the Engliſh, a peſtilence which raged in America the year before they landed, had ſwept off ſo great a number of the natives, that they

Plan of government.

[h] Hubard's Pref. State, p. 3. Cotton's Magnalia, p. 7. Hutchinſon's Hiſt. p. 3, &c.

were

were quickly repulſed and humbled. The privilege of profeſſing their own opinions, and of being governed by laws of their own framing, afforded conſolation to the coloniſts amidſt all their dangers and hardſhips. The conſtitution of their church was the ſame with that which they had eſtabliſhed in Holland. Their ſyſtem of civil government was founded on thoſe ideas of the natural equality among men, to which their eccleſiaſtical policy had accuſtomed them. Every free man, who was a member of the church, was admitted into the ſupreme legiſlative body. The laws of England were adopted as the baſis of their juriſprudence, though with ſome diverſity in the puniſhments inflicted upon crimes, borrowed from the Moſaic inſtitutions. The executive power was veſted in a governor and ſome aſſiſtants, who were elected annually by the members of the legiſlative aſſembly[1]. So far their inſtitutions appear to be founded on the ordinary maxims of human prudence. But it was a favourite opinion with all the enthuſiaſts of that age, that the ſcriptures contained a complete ſyſtem, not only of ſpiritual inſtruction, but of civil wiſdom and polity; and without attending to the peculiar circumſtances or ſituation of the people whoſe hiſtory is there recorded, they often de-

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[1] Chalmers' Annals, p. 87.

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duced general rules for their own conduct, from what happened among men in a very different ſtate. Under the influence of this wild notion, the coloniſts of New Plymouth, in imitation of the primitive chriſtians, threw all their property into a common ſtock, and, like members of one family, carried on every work of induſtry by their joint labour for public behoof[k]. But, however this reſolution might evidence the ſincerity of their faith, it retarded the progreſs of their colony. The ſame fatal effects flowed from this community of goods, and of labour, which had formerly been experienced in Virginia; and it ſoon became neceſſary to relinquiſh what was too refined to be capable of being accommodated to the affairs of men. But though they built a ſmall town, and ſurrounded it with ſuch a fence as afforded ſufficient ſecurity againſt the aſſaults of Indians, the ſoil around it was ſo poor, their religious principles were ſo unſocial, and the ſupply ſent them by their friends ſo ſcanty, that at the end of ten years, the number of people belonging to the ſettlement did not exceed three hundred[l]. During ſome years they appear not to have acquired right by any legal conveyance to the territory which they had occupied. At length

Community of goods.

This inſtitution hurtful to the colony.

[k] Chalmers' Annals, p. 89. Douglas's Summary, i. p. 370.
[l] Chalmers' Annals, p. 97.

they

they obtained a grant of property from the council of the New Plymouth company, but were never incorporated as a body politic by royal charter[m]. Unlike all the other ſettlements in America, this colony muſt be conſidered merely as a voluntary aſſociation, held together by the tacit conſent of its members to recogniſe the authority of laws, and ſubmit to the juriſdiction of magiſtrates framed and choſen by themſelves. In this ſtate it remained an independent but feeble community, until it was united to its more powerful neighbour, the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, the origin and progreſs of which I now proceed to relate.

1630. This colony not incorporated by charter.

THE original company of Plymouth having done nothing effectual towards eſtabliſhing any permanent ſettlement in America, James I., in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, iſſued a new charter to the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction in his court, by which he conveyed to them a right to a territory in America, ſtill more extenſive than what had been granted to the former patentees, incorporating them as a body politic, in order to plant colonies there, with powers and

Grand council of Plymouth appointed.

[m] Chalmers' Annals, p. 97. 107.

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jurisdictions similar to those contained in his charters to the companies of South and North Virginia. This society was distinguished by the name of the Grand Council of Plymouth for planting and governing New England. What considerations of public utility could induce the King to commit such an undertaking to persons apparently so ill qualified for conducting it, or what prospect of private advantage prompted them to engage in it, the information we receive from contemporary writers does not enable us to determine. Certain it is, that the expectations of both were disappointed; and after many schemes and arrangements, all the attempts of the new associates towards colonization proved unsuccessful.

Project of a new colony.

New England must have remained unoccupied, if the same causes which occasioned the emigration of the Brownists had not continued to operate. Notwithstanding the violent persecution to which Puritans of every denomination were still exposed, their number and zeal daily increased. As they now despaired of obtaining in their own country any relaxation of the penal statutes enacted against their sect, many began to turn their eyes towards some other place of retreat, where they might profess their own opinions with impunity.

From

From the tranquillity which their brethren had hitherto enjoyed in New Plymouth, they hoped to find this defired aſylum in New England; and by the activity of Mr. White, a non-conformiſt miniſter at Dorcheſter, an aſſociation was formed by ſeveral gentlemen who had imbibed puritanical notions, in order to conduct a colony thither. They purchaſed from the council of Plymouth all the territory, extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack, to three miles ſouth of Charles River, and in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Zealous as theſe proprietors were to accompliſh their favourite purpoſe, they quickly perceived their own inability to attempt the population of ſuch an immenſe region, and deemed it neceſſary to call in the aid of more opulent co-partners[n]. 1627. March 19.

Of theſe they found, without difficulty, a ſufficient number, chiefly in the capital, and among perſons in the commercial and other induſtrious walks of life, who had openly joined the ſect of the Puritans, or ſecretly favoured their opinions. Theſe new adventurers, with the caution natural to men converſant in buſineſs, entertained doubts concerning the propriety of founding a colony on the baſis of a

[n] Neal's Hiſt. of New Engl. i. p. 122.

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grant from a private company of patentees, who might convey a right of property in the ſoil, but could not confer juriſdiction, or the privilege of governing that ſociety which they had in contemplation to eſtabliſh. As it was only from royal authority that ſuch powers could be derived, they applied for theſe; and Charles granted their requeſt, with a facility which appears aſtoniſhing, when we conſider the principles and views of the men who were ſuitors for the favour.

Charter to the new colony of Maſſachuſets Bay.

TIME has been conſidered as the parent of political wiſdom, but its inſtructions are communicated ſlowly. Although the experience of above twenty years might have taught the Engliſh the impropriety of committing the government of ſettlements in America to excluſive corporations reſident in Europe, neither the King nor his ſubjects had profited ſo much by what paſſed before their eyes, as to have extended their ideas beyond thoſe adopted by James, in his firſt attempts towards colonization. The charter of Charles I. to the adventurers aſſociated for planting the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, was perfectly ſimilar to thoſe granted by his father to the two Virginian companies and to the council of Plymouth. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic, and their

right to the territory, which they had purchaſed from the council at Plymouth, being confirmed by the King, they were empowered to diſpoſe of the lands, and to govern the people who ſhould ſettle upon them. The firſt governor of the company, and his aſſiſtants, were named by the crown: the right of electing their ſucceſſors was veſted in the members of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and aſſiſtants; that of legiſlation to the body of proprietors, who might make ſtatutes and orders for the good of the community, not inconſiſtent with the laws of England, and enforce the obſervance of them, according to the courſe of other corporations within the realm. Their lands were to be held by the ſame liberal tenure with thoſe granted to the Virginian company. They obtained the ſame temporary exemption from internal taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported; and notwithſtanding their migration to America, they and their deſcendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born ſubjects[o]. BOOK X.

THE manifeſt object of this charter was to confer on the adventurers who undertook to

[o] Hutchinſon's Collect. of Orig. Papers, p. 1, &c.

people

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people the territory on Maſſachuſets Bay, all the corporate rights poſſeſſed by the council of Plymouth, from which they had purchaſed it, and to form them into a public body, reſembling other great trading companies, which the ſpirit of monarchy had at that time multiplied in the kingdom. The King ſeems not to have foreſeen, or to have ſuſpected, the ſecret intentions of thoſe who projected the meaſure; for ſo far was he from alluring emigrants, by any hopes of indulgence with reſpect to their religious ſcruples, or from promiſing any relaxation from the rigour of the penal ſtatutes againſt non-conformiſts, that he expreſsly provides for having the oath of ſupremacy adminiſtered to every perſon who ſhall paſs to the colony, or inhabit there [p].

BUT

[p] Hutchinſon's Collect. of Orig. Papers, p. 18. — It is ſurpriſing that Mr. Neal, an induſtrious and generally well-informed writer, ſhould affirm, that "free liberty of conſcience was granted by this charter to all who ſhould ſettle in thoſe parts, to worſhip God in their own way." Hiſt. of New Engl. i. 124. This he repeats in his Hiſtory of the Puritans, ii. 210: and ſubſequent hiſtorians have copied him implicitly. No permiſſion of that kind, however, is contained in the charter; and ſuch an indulgence would have been inconſiſtent with all the maxims of Charles and his miniſters during the courſe of his reign. At the time when Charles iſſued the charter, the influence of Laud over his councils was at its height, the Puritans were proſecuted with the greateſt ſeverity, and the kingdom was ruled

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But whatever were the intentions of the King, the adventurers kept their own object ſteadily in view. Soon after their powers to eſtabliſh a colony were rendered complete by the royal charter, they fitted out five ſhips for New England; on board of which embarked upwards of three hundred paſſengers, with a view of ſettling there. Theſe were moſtly zealous Puritans, whoſe chief inducement to relinquiſh their native land was the hope of enjoying religious liberty in a country far removed from the ſeat of government and the oppreſſion of eccleſiaſtical courts. Some eminent nonconformiſt miniſters accompanied them as their ſpiritual inſtructors. On their arrival in New England, they found the wretched remainder of a ſmall body of emigrants, who had left England the preceding year, under the conduct of Endicott, a deep enthuſiaſt, whom, prior to their incorporation by the royal charter, the aſſociates had appointed deputy governor. They were ſettled at a place called by the Indians Naunekeag, and to which Endicott, with the fond affectation of fanaticks of that age to employ the language and appellations of Scrip-

1629. Settlement in conſequence of this charter.

June 29.

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entirely by prerogative. This is not an æra in which one can expect to meet with conceſſions in favour of nonconformiſts, from a Prince of Charles's character and principles.

ture

BOOK X. ture in the affairs of common life, had given the name of Salem.

Begin with eſtabliſhing a church.

THE emigrants under Endicott, and ſuch as now joined them, coincided perfectly in religious principles. They were Puritans of the ſtricteſt form; and to men of this character the inſtitution of a church was naturally of ſuch intereſting concern as to take place of every other object. In this firſt tranſaction, they diſplayed at once the extent of the reformation at which they aimed. Without regard to the ſentiments of that monarch under the ſanction of whoſe authority they ſettled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances ſhould be inconſiſtent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has ſince been diſtinguiſhed by the name of Independent.

Aug. 6. They united together in religious ſociety, by a ſolemn covenant with God, and with one another, and in ſtrict conformity, as they imagined, to the rules of Scripture. They elected a paſtor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they ſet apart for their reſpective offices, by impoſition of the hands of the brethren. All who were that day admitted members of the church ſignified their aſſent to a confeſſion of faith.

faith drawn up by their teacher, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as Chriſtians; and it was declared, that no perſon ſhould hereafter be received into communion until he gave ſatisfaction to the church with reſpect to his faith and ſanctity. The form of public worſhip which they inſtituted was without a liturgy, diſencumbered of every ſuperfluous ceremony, and reduced to the loweſt ſtandard of Calviniſtic ſimplicity[q].

Intolerance of the new church.

It was with the utmoſt complacence that men, paſſionately attached to their own notions, and who had long been reſtrained from avowing them, employed themſelves in framing this model of a pure church. But in the firſt moment that they began to taſte of Chriſtian liberty themſelves, they forgot that other men had an equal title to enjoy it. Some of their number, retaining an high veneration for the ritual of the Engliſh church, were ſo much offended at the total abolition of it, that they withdrew from communion with the newly inſtituted church, and aſſembled ſeparately for the worſhip of God. With an inconſiſtency of which there are ſuch flagrant inſtances among Chriſtians of every denomina-

[q] Math. Magnal. p. 18. Neal's Hiſt. of N. Engl. i. 126. Chalmers, p. 143.

tion

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tion that it cannot be imputed as a reproach peculiar to any ſect, the very men who had themſelves fled from perſecution became perſecutors; and had recourſe, in order to enforce their own opinions, to the ſame unhallowed weapons, againſt the employment of which they had lately remonſtrated with ſo much violence. Endicott called the two chief malcontents before him; and though they were men of note, and among the number of original patentees, he expelled them from the ſociety, and ſent them home in the ſhips which were returning to England[r]. The coloniſts were now united in ſentiments; but, on the approach of winter, they ſuffered ſo much from diſeaſes, which carried off almoſt one half of their number, that they made little progreſs in occupying the country.

Emigrations from England increaſed by the intolerance of Laud.

MEANWHILE the directors of the company in England exerted their utmoſt endeavours in order to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of new ſettlers; and as the intolerant ſpirit of Laud exacted conformity to all the injunctions of the church with greater rigour than ever, the condition of ſuch as had any ſcruples with reſpect to this became ſo

[r] Mather, p. 19. Neal, p. 129.

intolerable,

intolerable, that many accepted of their invi- BOOK X.
tation to a ſecure retreat in New England. Several of theſe were perſons of greater opulence and of better condition than any who had hitherto migrated to that country. But as they intended to employ their fortunes, as well as to hazard their perſons in eſtabliſhing a permanent colony there, and foreſaw many inconveniences from their ſubjection to laws made without their own conſent, and framed by a ſociety which muſt always be imperfectly acquainted with their ſituation, they inſiſted that the corporate powers of the company ſhould be transferred from England to America, and the government of the colony be veſted entirely in thoſe who, by ſettling in the latter country, became members of it[s]. The company had already expended conſiderable ſums in proſecuting the deſign of their inſtitution, without having received almoſt any return, and had no proſpect of gain, or even of reimburſement, but what was too remote and uncertain to be ſuitable to the ideas of merchants, the moſt numerous claſs of its members. They heſitated, however, with reſpect to the legality of granting the demand of the intended emigrants. But ſuch was their eagerneſs to be diſengaged from an unpromiſ-

[s] Hutchinſon's Coll. of Papers, p. 25.

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ing adventure, that, "by general conſent it was determined, that the charter ſhould be transferred, and the government be ſettled in New England[t]." To the members of the corporation who chooſe to remain at home was reſerved a ſhare in the trading ſtock and profits of the company during ſeven years.

Charter of the company transferred to the coloniſts.

[t] In this ſingular tranſaction, to which there is nothing ſimilar in the hiſtory of Engliſh colonization, two circumſtances merit particular attention: one is, the power of the company to make this transference; the other is, the ſilent acquieſcence with which the King permitted it to take place. If the validity of this determination of the company be tried by the charter which conſtituted it a body politic, and conveyed to it all the corporate powers with which it was inveſted, it is evident that it could neither exerciſe thoſe powers in any mode different from what the charter preſcribed, nor alienate them in ſuch a manner as to convert the juriſdiction of a trading corporation in England into a provincial government in America. But from the firſt inſtitution of the company of Maſſachuſets Bay, its members ſeem to have been animated with a ſpirit of

[t] Mather, p. 20. Hutchinſon's Hiſt. p. 12. Chalmers, p. 150.

innovation

innovation in civil policy, as well as in religion; and by the habit of rejecting eſtabliſhed uſages in the one, they were prepared for deviating from them in the other. They had applied for a royal charter, in order to give legal effect to their operations in England, as acts of a body politic; but the perſons whom they ſent out to America, as ſoon as they landed there, conſidered themſelves as individuals, united together by voluntary aſſociation, poſſeſſing the natural right of men who form a ſociety, to adopt what mode of government, and to enact what laws they deemed moſt conducive to general felicity. Upon this principle of being entitled to judge and to decide for themſelves, they eſtabliſhed their church in Salem, without regard to the inſtitutions of the church of England, of which the charter ſuppoſed them to be members, and bound of conſequence to conformity with its ritual. Suitably to the ſame ideas, we ſhall obſerve them framing all their future plans of civil and eccleſiaſtical policy. The king, though abundantly vigilant in obſerving and checking ſlighter encroachments on his prerogative, was either ſo much occupied at that time with other cares, occaſioned by his fatal breach with his parliament, that he could not attend to the proceedings of the company; or he was ſo much pleaſed with the proſpect of removing a

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BOOK X. body of turbulent ſubjects to a diſtant country, where they might be uſeful, and could not prove dangerous, that he was diſpoſed to connive at the irregularity of a meaſure which facilitated their departure.

Colony extended.

WITHOUT interruption from the crown, the adventurers proceeded to carry their ſcheme into execution. In a general court, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, and eighteen aſſiſtants were choſen; in whom, together with the body of freemen who ſhould ſettle in New England, were veſted all the corporate rights of the company. With ſuch zeal and activity did they prepare for emigration, that in the courſe of the enſuing year ſeventeen ſhips ſailed for New England, and aboard theſe above fifteen hundred perſons, among whom were ſeveral of reſpectable families, and in eaſy circumſtances. On their arrival in New England, many were ſo ill ſatisfied with the ſituation of Salem, that they explored the country in queſt of ſome better ſtation; and ſettling in different places around the Bay, according to their various fancies, laid the foundations of Boſton, Charles-town, Dorcheſter, Roxborough, and other towns, which have ſince become conſiderable in the province. In each of theſe a church was eſtabliſhed.

bliſhed on the ſame model with that of Salem. This, together with the care of making proviſion for their ſubſiſtence during winter, occupied them entirely during ſome months. But in the firſt general court, their diſpoſition to conſider themſelves as members of an independent ſociety, unconfined by the regulations in their charter, began to appear. The election of the governor and deputy-governor, the appointment of all other officers, and even the power of making laws, all which were granted by the charter to the freemen, were taken from them, and veſted in the council of aſſiſtants. But the ariſtocratical ſpirit of this reſolution did not accord with the ideas of equality prevalent among the people, who had been ſurpriſed into an approbation of it. Next year the freemen, whoſe numbers had been greatly augmented by the admiſſion of new members, reſumed their former rights.

Oct. 19.

1631.

None but members of the church admitted as freemen.

But, at the ſame time, they ventured to deviate, from the charter in a matter of greater moment, which deeply affected all the future operations of the colony, and contributed greatly to form that peculiar character by which the people of New England have been diſtinguiſhed. A law was paſſed, declaring that none ſhall hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any ſhare in the government,

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or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as have been received into the church as members[u]. By this resolution, every person who did not hold the favourite opinions concerning the doctrines of religion, the discipline of the church, or the rites of worship, was at once cast out of the society, and stripped of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable of all civil rights was made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. As in examining into these, they proceeded not by any known or established rules, but exercised a discretionary judgment, the clergy rose gradually to a degree of influence and authority, from which the levelling spirit of the independent church policy was calculated to exclude them. As by their determination the political condition of every citizen was fixed, all paid court to men possessed of such an important power, by assuming those austere and sanctimonious manners which were known to be the most certain recommendation to

Pernicious consequences of this regulation.

[u] Hutchinson, p. 26. Chalmers, p. 153.

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their favour. In conſequence of this aſcendant, which was acquired chiefly by the wildeſt enthuſiaſts among the clergy, their notions became a ſtandard to which all ſtudied to conform, and the ſingularities characteriſtic of the Puritans in that age increaſed, of which many remarkable inſtances will occur in the courſe of our narrative.

Indian territories depopulated by the ſmall-pox.

THOUGH a conſiderable number of planters was cut off by the diſeaſes prevalent in a country ſo imperfectly cultivated by its original inhabitants as to be ſtill almoſt one continued foreſt, and ſeveral, diſcouraged by the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, returned to England, recruits ſufficient to replace them arrived. At the ſame time the ſmall-pox, a diſtemper fatal to the people of the New World, ſwept away ſuch multitudes of the natives that ſome whole tribes diſappeared; and Heaven, by thus evacuating a country in which the Engliſh might ſettle without moleſtation, was ſuppoſed to declare its intention that they ſhould occupy it.

1632.

Settlements of the coloniſts extended.

As ſeveral of the vacant Indian ſtations were well choſen, ſuch was the eagerneſs of the Engliſh to take poſſeſſion of them, that their ſettlements became more numerous and more widely diſperſed than ſuited the condition of

BOOK X.

an infant colony. This led to an innovation which totally altered the nature and conſtitution of the government. When a general court was to be held in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four, the freemen, inſtead of attending it in perſon, as the charter preſcribed, elected repreſentatives in their different diſtricts, authorizing them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide concerning every point that fell under the cognizance of the general court. Whether this meaſure was ſuggeſted by ſome deſigning leaders, or whether they found it prudent to ſoothe the people by complying with their inclination, is uncertain. The repreſentatives were admitted, and conſidered themſelves, in conjunction with the governor and aſſiſtants, as the ſupreme legiſlative aſſembly of the colony. In aſſertion of their own rights they enacted, that no law ſhould be paſſed, no tax ſhould be impoſed, and no public officer ſhould be appointed, but in the general aſſembly. The pretexts for making this new arrangement were plauſible. The number of freemen was greatly increaſed; many reſided at a diſtance from the places where the ſupreme courts were held; perſonal attendance became inconvenient; the form of government in their own country had rendered familiar the idea of delegating their rights,

1634. Freemen meet by repreſentatives.

Extent of political liberty aſſumed by the aſſembly.

rights, and committing the guardianſhip of their liberties to repreſentatives of their own choice, and the experience of ages had taught them that this important truſt might with ſafety be lodged in their hands. Thus did the company of Maſſachuſets Bay, in leſs than ſix years from its incorporation by the King, mature and perfect a ſcheme which, I have already obſerved, ſome of its more artful and aſpiring leaders ſeem to have had in view when the aſſociation for peopling New England was firſt formed. The colony muſt henceforward be conſidered, not as a corporation whoſe powers were defined, and its mode of procedure regulated by its charter, but as a ſociety, which, having acquired or aſſumed political liberty, had, by its own voluntary deed, adopted a conſtitution or government framed on the model of that in England.

Spirit of fanaticiſm increaſes.

But however liberal their ſyſtem of civil policy might be, as their religious opinions were no longer under any reſtraint of authority, the ſpirit of fanaticiſm continued to ſpread, and became every day wilder and more extravagant. Williams, a miniſter of Salem, in high eſtimation, having conceived an antipathy to the croſs of St. George in the ſtandard of England, declaimed againſt it with ſo much vehemence, as a relic of ſuperſtition and ido-

BOOK X.

latry which ought not to be retained among a people ſo pure and ſanctified, that Endicott, one of the members of the court of aſſiſtants, in a tranſport of zeal, publicly cut out the croſs from the enſign diſplayed before the governor's gate. This frivolous matter intereſted and divided the colony. Some of the militia ſcrupled to follow colours in which there was a croſs, leſt they ſhould do honour to an idol: others refuſed to ſerve under a mutilated banner, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of having renounced their allegiance to the crown of England. After a long controverſy, carried on by both parties with that heat and zeal which in trivial diſputes ſupply the want of argument, the conteſt was terminated by a compromiſe. The croſs was retained in the enſigns of forts and ſhips, but eraſed from the colours of the militia. Williams, on account of this, as well as of ſome other doctrines deemed unſound, was baniſhed out of the colony[v].

New ſettlers.

THE proſperous ſtate of New England was now ſo highly extolled, and the ſimple frame of its eccleſiaſtic policy was ſo much admired by all whoſe affections were eſtranged from the church

[v] Neal's Hiſt. of N. Eng. p. 140, &c. Hutchinſon, p. 37. Chalmers, p. 156.

of England, that crowds of new ſettlers flocked thither. Among theſe were two perſons, whoſe names have been rendered memorable by the appearance which they afterwards made on a more conſpicuous theatre: one was Hugh Peters, the enthuſiaſtic and intriguing chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other Mr. Henry Vane, ſon of Sir Henry Vane, a privy counſellor, high in office, and of great credit with the King; a young man of a noble family, animated with ſuch zeal for pure religion and ſuch love of liberty as induced him to relinquiſh all his hopes in England, and to ſettle in a colony hitherto no farther advanced in improvement than barely to afford ſubſiſtence to its members, was received with the fondeſt admiration. His mortified appearance, his demure look, and rigid manners, carried even beyond the ſtandard of preciſeneſs in that ſociety which he joined, ſeemed to indicate a man of high ſpiritual attainments, while his abilities and addreſs in buſineſs pointed him out as worthy of the higheſt ſtation in the community. With univerſal conſent, and high expectations of advantage from his adminiſtration, he was elected governor in the year ſubſequent to his arrival. But as the affairs of an infant colony afforded not objects adequate to the talents of Vane, his buſy pragmatical ſpirit occupied

1635.

1636.

BOOK X. occupied itſelf with theological ſubtilties and ſpeculations unworthy of his attention. Theſe were excited by a woman, whoſe reveries produced ſuch effects both within the colony and beyond its precincts, that, frivolous as they may now appear, they muſt be mentioned as an occurrence of importance in its hiſtory.

Antinomian ſect.

IT was the cuſtom at that time in New England, among the chief men in every congregation, to meet once a week, in order to repeat the ſermons which they had heard, and to hold religious conference with reſpect to the doctrine contained in them. Mrs. Hutchinſon, whoſe huſband was among the moſt reſpectable members of the colony, regretting that perſons of her ſex were excluded from the benefit of thoſe meetings, aſſembled ſtatedly in her houſe a number of women, who employed themſelves in pious exerciſes ſimilar to thoſe of the men. At firſt ſhe ſatisfied herſelf with repeating what ſhe could recollect of the diſcourſes delivered by their teachers. She began afterwards to add illuſtrations, and at length proceeded to cenſure ſome of the clergy as unſound, and to vent opinions and fancies of her own. Theſe were all founded on the ſyſtem which is denominated Antinomian by divines, and tinged with the deepeſt enthu-

enthuſiaſm. She taught, that ſanctity of life is no evidence of juſtification, or of a ſtate of favour with God; and that ſuch as inculcated the neceſſity of manifeſting the reality of our faith by obedience, preached only a covenant of works; ſhe contended that the ſpirit of God dwelt perſonally in good men, and by inward revelations and impreſſions they received the fulleſt diſcoveries of the divine will. The fluency and confidence with which ſhe delivered theſe notions gained her many admirers and proſelytes, not only among the vulgar, but among the principal inhabitants. The whole colony was intereſted and agitated. Vane, whoſe ſagacity and acuteneſs ſeemed to forſake him whenever they were turned towards religion, eſpouſed and defended her wildeſt tenets. Many conferences were held, days of faſting and humiliation were appointed, a general ſynod was called, and, after diſſentions ſo violent as threatened the diſſolution of the colony, Mrs. Hutchinſon's opinions were condemned as erroneous, and ſhe herſelf baniſhed. Several of her diſciples withdrew from the province of their own accord. Vane quitted America in diſguſt, unlamented even by thoſe who had lately admired him; ſome of whom now regarded him as a mere viſionary, and others as one of thoſe dark turbulent ſpirits doomed

1637. Their doctrines condemned by a general ſynod.

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doomed to embroil every ſociety into which they enter[w].

The ſectaries ſettle in Providence and Rhode Iſland.

HOWEVER much theſe theological conteſts might diſquiet the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, they contributed to the more ſpeedy population of America. When Williams was baniſhed from Salem in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four, ſuch was the attachment of his hearers to a paſtor whoſe piety they revered, that a good number of them voluntarily accompanied him in his exile. They directed their march towards the ſouth; and having purchaſed from the natives a conſiderable tract of land, to which Williams gave the name of Providence, they ſettled there. They were joined ſoon after by ſome of thoſe to whom the proceedings againſt Mrs. Hutchinſon gave diſguſt; and by a tranſaction with the Indians they obtained a right to a fertile iſland in Naraganſet Bay, which acquired the name of Rhode Iſland. Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, reſpected as the father and the guide of the colony which he had planted. His ſpirit differed from that of the Puritans in Maſſachuſets; it

[w] Mather, book vii. c. 3. Hutchinſon, p. 53. 74. Neal, 1. 144. 165, &c. Chalmers, p. 163.

was

was mild and tolerating; and having ventured himſelf to reject eſtabliſhed opinions, he endeavoured to ſecure the ſame liberty to other men, by maintaining, that the exerciſe of private judgment was a natural and ſacred right; that the civil magiſtrate has no compulſive juriſdiction in the concerns of religion; that the puniſhment of any perſon on account of his opinions was an encroachment on conſcience, and an act of perſecution [x]. Theſe humane principles he inſtilled into his followers; and all who felt or dreaded oppreſſion in other ſettlements, reſorted to a community in which univerſal toleration was known to be a fundamental maxim. In the plantations of Providence and Rhode Iſland, political union was eſtabliſhed by voluntary aſſociation, and the equality of condition among the members, as well as their religious opinions; their form of government was purely democratical, the ſupreme power being lodged in the freemen perſonally aſſembled. In this ſtate they remained until they were incorporated by charter [y].

Their moderation.

To ſimilar cauſes the colony of Connecticut is indebted for its origin. The rivalſhip between

Colony of Connecticut.

[x] Neal's Hiſt. of N. Eng. p. 141.

[y] Hutchinſon, p. 38. Neal, ii. 142. Douglas Sum. i. p. 76, &c. Chalmers, ch. ii.

Mr.

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Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, two favourite miniſters in the ſettlement of Maſſachuſets Bay, diſpoſed the latter, who was leaſt ſucceſsful in this conteſt for fame and power, to wiſh for ſome ſettlement at a diſtance from a competitor by whom his reputation was eclipſed. A good number of thoſe who had imbibed Mrs. Hutchinſon's notions, and were offended at ſuch as combated them, offered to accompany him. Having employed proper perſons to explore the country, they pitched upon the weſt ſide of the great river Connecticut as the moſt inviting ſtation; and in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix, about an hundred perſons, with their wives and families, after a fatiguing march of many days through woods and ſwamps, arrived there, and laid the foundation of the towns of Hartford, Springfield, and Weatherfield. This ſettlement was attended with peculiar irregularities. Part of the diſtrict now occupied lay beyond the limits of the territory granted to the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, and yet the emigrants took a commiſſion from the governor and court of aſſiſtants, empowering them to exerciſe juriſdiction in that country. The Dutch from Manhados or New York, having diſcovered the river Connecticut, and eſtabliſhed ſome trading houſes upon it, had acquired all the right that prior poſſeſſion confers. Lord

Say and Sele and Lord Brook, the heads of two illuſtrious families, were ſo much alarmed at the arbitrary meaſures of Charles I. both in his civil and eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, that they took a reſolution, not unbecoming young men of noble birth and liberal ſentiments, of retiring to the New World, in order to enjoy ſuch a form of religion as they approved of, and thoſe liberties which they deemed eſſential to the well-being of ſociety. They too fixed on the banks of the Connecticut as their place of ſettlement, and had taken poſſeſſion, by building a fort at the mouth of the river, which, from their united names, was called Say Brook. The emigrants from Maſſachuſets, without regarding either the defects in their own right or the pretenſions of other claimants, kept poſſeſſion, and proceeded with vigour to clear and cultivate the country. By degrees they got rid of every competitor. The Dutch, recently ſettled in America, and too feeble to engage in a war, peaceably withdrew from Connecticut. Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook made over to the colony whatever title they might have to any lands in that region. Society was eſtabliſhed by a voluntary compact of the freemen; and though they ſoon diſclaimed all dependence on the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, they retained ſuch veneration for its legiſlative wiſdom as to adopt a form of government nearly

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nearly reſembling its inſtitutions, with reſpect both to civil and eccleſiaſtical policy. At a ſubſequent period, the colony of Connecticut was likewiſe incorporated by royal charter [z].

Of New Hampſhire and Main.

THE hiſtory of the firſt attempts to people the provinces of New Hampſhire and Main, which form the fourth and moſt extenſive diviſion in New England, is obſcure and perplexed, by the interfering claims of various proprietors. The company of Plymouth had inconſiderately parcelled out the northern part of the territory contained in its grant among different perſons: of theſe only Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Maſon ſeem to have had any ſerious intention to occupy the lands allotted to them. Their efforts to accompliſh this were meritorious and perſevering, but unſucceſsful. The expence of ſettling colonies in an uncultivated country; muſt neceſſarily be great and immediate; the proſpect of a return is often uncertain and always remote. The funds of two private adventurers were not adequate to ſuch an undertaking. Nor did the planters whom they ſent out poſſeſs that principle of enthuſiaſm, which animated their neighbours of Maſſachuſets with

[z] Hutchinſon, p. 44, &c. Neal, i. 147. Douglas, ii. 158, &c. Chalmers' Annals, ch. 12.

vigour

vigour, to ſtruggle through all the hardſhips and dangers to which ſociety, in its infancy, is expoſed in a ſavage land. Gorges and Maſon, it is probable, muſt have abandoned their deſign, if, from the ſame motives that ſettlements had been made in Rhode Iſland and Connecticut, coloniſts had not unexpectedly migrated into New Hampſhire and Main. Mr. Wheelwright, a miniſter of ſome note, nearly related to Mrs. Hutchinſon, and one of her moſt fervent admirers and partiſans, had on this account been baniſhed from the province of Maſſachuſets Bay [a]. In queſt of a new ſtation, he took a courſe oppoſite to the other exiles; and advancing towards the north, founded the town of Exeter, on a ſmall river flowing into Piſkataqua Bay. His followers, few in number, but firmly united, were of ſuch rigid principles, that even the churches of Maſſachuſets did not appear to them ſufficiently pure. From time to time they received ſome recruits, whom love of novelty, or diſſatisfaction with the eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions of the other colonies, prompted to join them. Their plantations were widely diſperſed, but the country was thinly peopled, and its political ſtate extremely unſettled. The colony of Maſſachuſets Bay claimed juriſdiction over them, as

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[a] Hutchinſon, p. 70.

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occupying lands ſituated within the limits of their grant. Gorges and Maſon aſſerted the rights conveyed to them as proprietors by their charter. In ſeveral diſtricts the planters, without regarding the pretenſions of either party, governed themſelves by maxims and laws copied from thoſe of their brethren in the adjacent colonies [b]. The firſt reduction of the political conſtitution in the provinces of New Hampſhire and Main into a regular and permanent form, was ſubſequent to the Revolution.

By extending their ſettlements, the Engliſh became expoſed to new danger. The tribes of Indians around Maſſachuſets Bay were feeble and unwarlike; yet from regard to juſtice, as well as motives of prudence, the firſt coloniſts were ſtudious to obtain the conſent of the natives before they ventured to occupy any of their lands; and though in ſuch tranſactions the conſideration given was often very inadequate to the value of the territory acquired, it was ſufficient to ſatisfy the demands of the proprietors. The Engliſh took quiet poſſeſſion of the lands thus conveyed to them, and no open hoſtility broke out between them and the ancient poſſeſſors. But the colonies of

The farther encroachments of the Engliſh reſiſted by the natives.

[b] Hutchinſon, p. 103, &c. 176. Douglas's Sum. ii. 22, &c. Chalmers' Annals, ch. 17.

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Providence and Connecticut ſoon found that they were ſurrounded by more powerful and martial nations. Among theſe the moſt conſiderable were the Naraganſets and Pequods; the former ſeated on the Bay which bears their name, and the latter occupying the territory which ſtretches from the river Pequod along the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thouſand warriors, not inferior in courage to any in the New World. They foreſaw, not only that the extermination of the Indian race muſt be the conſequence of permitting the Engliſh to ſpread over the continent of America, but that if meaſures were not ſpeedily concerted to prevent it, the calamity would be unavoidable. With this view they applied to the Naraganſets, requeſting them to forget ancient animoſities for a moment, and to co-operate with them in expelling a common enemy who threatened both with deſtruction. They repreſented that, when thoſe ſtrangers firſt landed, the object of their viſit was not ſuſpected, and no proper precautions were taken to check their progreſs; that now, by ſending out colonies in one year towards three different quarters, their intentions were manifeſt, and the people of America muſt abandon their native ſeats to make way for unjuſt intruders.

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But the Naraganſets and Pequods, like moſt of the contiguous tribes in America, were rivals, and there ſubſiſted between them an hereditary and implacable enmity. Revenge is the darling paſſion of ſavages; in order to ſecure the indulgence of which there is no preſent advantage that they will not ſacrifice, and no future conſequence which they do not totally diſregard. The Naraganſets, inſtead of cloſing with the prudent propoſal of their neighbours, diſcovered their hoſtile intentions to the governor of Maſſachuſet's Bay; and, eager to lay hold on ſuch a favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their ancient foes, entered into an alliance with the Engliſh againſt them. The Pequods, more exaſperated than diſcouraged by the imprudence and treachery of their countrymen, took the field, and carried on the war in the uſual mode of Americans. They ſurpriſed ſtragglers, and ſcalped them; they plundered and burnt remote ſettlements; they attacked Fort Say Brook without ſucceſs, though garriſoned only by twenty men; and when the Engliſh began to act offenſively, they retired to faſtneſſes which they deemed inacceſſible. The different colonies had agreed to unite againſt the common enemy, each furniſhing a quota of men in proportion to its numbers. The troops of Connecticut, which lay moſt expoſed to danger, were ſoon aſſembled.

War with the Pequod tribes.

The

The march of thoſe from Maſſachuſets, which formed the moſt conſiderable body, was retarded by the moſt ſingular cauſe that ever influenced the operations of a military force. When they were muſtered previous to their departure, it was found that ſome of the officers, as well as of the private ſoldiers, were ſtill under a covenant of works; and that the bleſſing of God could not be implored or expected to crown the arms of ſuch unhallowed men with ſucceſs. The alarm was general, and many arrangements neceſſary in order to caſt out the unclean, and to render this little band ſufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained high ideas of their own ſanctity[c].

Purification of the army.

Meanwhile the Connecticut troops, reinforced by a ſmall detachment from Say Brook, found it neceſſary to advance towards the enemy. They were poſted on a riſing ground, in the middle of a ſwamp towards the head of the river Miſtick, which they had ſurrounded with paliſadoes, the beſt defence that their ſlender ſkill in the art of fortification had diſcovered. Though they knew that the Engliſh were in motion, yet with the uſual improvidence and ſecurity of ſavages, they took no

Defeat of the Indians.

[c] Neal, i. 168.

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three months the tribe of Pequods was extirpated: a few miſerable fugitives, who took refuge among the neighbouring Indians, being incorporated by them, loſt their name as a diſtinct people. In this firſt eſſay of their arms, the coloniſts of New England ſeem to have been conducted by ſkilful and enterpriſing officers, and diſplayed both courage and perſeverance as ſoldiers. But they ſtained their laurels by the uſe which they made of victory. Inſtead of treating the Pequods as an independent people, who made a gallant effort to defend the property, the rights, and the freedom of their nation, they retaliated upon them all the barbarities of American war. Some they maſſacred in cold blood, others they gave up to be tortured by their Indian allies, a conſiderable number they ſold as ſlaves in Bermudas, the reſt were reduced to ſervitude among themſelves [d].

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Cruelties exerciſed againſt the Indians.

BUT reprehenſible as this conduct of the Engliſh muſt be deemed, their vigorous efforts in this deciſive campaign filled all the ſurrounding tribes of Indians with ſuch an high opinion of their valour as ſecured a long tranquillity to

Emigrations from England.

[d] Hutchinſon, p. 58. 76, &c. Mather, Magnalia, b. vii. ch. 6. Hubbard's State of N. Eng. p. 5. 116, &c.

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all their ſettlements. At the ſame time the violence of adminiſtration in England continued to increaſe their population and ſtrength, by forcing many reſpectable ſubjects to tear themſelves from all the tender connections that bind men to their native country, and to fly for refuge to a region of the New World, which hitherto preſented to them nothing that could allure them thither but exemption from oppreſſion. The number of thoſe emigrants drew the attention of government, and appeared ſo formidable, that a proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting maſters of ſhips from carrying paſſengers to New England without ſpecial permiſſion. On many occaſions this injunction was eluded or diſregarded. Fatally for the King, it operated with full effect in one inſtance. Sir Arthur Haſlerig, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and ſome other perſons whoſe principles and views coincided with theirs, impatient to enjoy thoſe civil and religious liberties which they ſtruggled in vain to obtain in Great Britain, hired ſome ſhips to carry them and their attendants to New England. By order of council, an embargo was laid on theſe when on the point of ſailing; and Charles, far from ſuſpecting that the future revolutions in his kingdoms were to be excited and directed by perſons in ſuch an

Prohibited by royal proclamation.

humble ſphere of life, forcibly detained the men deſtined to overturn his throne, and to terminate his days by a violent death [c]. BOOK X.

But, in ſpite of all the efforts of government to check this ſpirit of migration, the meaſures of the King and his miniſters were conſidered by a great body of the people as ſo hoſtile to thoſe rights which they deemed moſt valuable, that in the courſe of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight, about three thouſand perſons embarked for New England, chooſing rather to expoſe themſelves to all the conſequences of diſregarding the royal proclamation, than to remain longer under oppreſſion. Exaſperated at this contempt of his authority, Charles had recourſe to a violent but effectual mode of accompliſhing what he had in view. A writ of *quo warranto* was iſſued againſt the corporation of Maſſachuſets Bay. The coloniſts had conformed ſo little to the terms of their charter, that judgment was given againſt them without difficulty. They were found to have forfeited all their rights as a corporation, which of courſe returned to the crown, and Charles began to take meaſures for new modelling the political

Colony of Maſſachuſets Bay ſued at law and found to have forfeited its rights.

[c] Mather, Magnalia, b. i. ch. 5. p. 23. Neal's Hiſt. of N. Eng. i. 151 Chalmers' Annals, i. 155. 160, &c.

frame

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frame of the colony, and veſting the adminiſtration of its affairs in other hands. But his plans were never carried into execution. In every corner of his dominions, the ſtorm now began to gather, which ſoon burſt out with ſuch fatal violence, that Charles, during the remainder of his unfortunate reign occupied with domeſtic and more intereſting cares, had not leiſure to beſtow any attention upon a remote and inconſiderable province[f].

On the meeting of the Long Parliament, ſuch a revolution took place in England, that all the motives for migrating to the New World ceaſed. The maxims of the Puritans with reſpect to the government both of church and ſtate became predominant in the nation, and were enforced by the hand of power. Their oppreſſors were humbled; that perfect ſyſtem of reformed polity, which had long been the object of their admiration and deſire, was eſtabliſhed by law; and amidſt the intrigues and conflicts of an obſtinate civil war, turbulent and aſpiring ſpirits found ſuch full occupation, that they had no inducement to quit a buſy theatre, on which they had riſen to act a moſt conſpicuous part. From the

[f] Hutchinſon, p. 86. 502, &c. Chalmers' Annals, i. 161.

year

year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, when the firſt feeble colony was conducted to New England by the Browniſts, to the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, it has been computed, that twenty-one thouſand two hundred Britiſh ſubjects had ſettled there. The money expended by various adventurers during that period, in fitting out ſhips, in purchaſing ſtock, and tranſporting ſettlers, amounted, on a moderate calculation, nearly to two hundred thouſand pounds[s]: a vaſt ſum in that age, and which no principles, inferior in force to thoſe wherewith the Puritans were animated, could have perſuaded men to lay out, on the uncertain proſpect of obtaining an eſtabliſhment in a remote uncultivated region, which, from its ſituation and climate, could allure them with no hope but that of finding ſubſiſtence and enjoying freedom. For ſome years, even ſubſiſtence was procured with difficulty; and it was towards the cloſe of the period to which our narrative is arrived, before the product of the ſettlement yielded the planters any return for their ſtock. About that time they began to export corn in ſmall quantities to the Weſt Indies, and made ſome feeble attempts to extend the fiſhery, and to

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State of the colonies at this period.

[s] Mather, b. i. ch. 4. p. 17. ch. 5. p. 23. Hutchinſon, p. 193. Chalmers' Annals, p. 165.

open

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open the trade in lumber, which have ſince proved the ſtaple articles of commerce in the colony[h]. Since the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, the number of people with which New England has recruited the population of the parent ſtate, is ſuppoſed at leaſt to equal what may have been drained from it by occaſional migrations thither.

Exemption from certain duties granted to the colonies.

BUT though the ſudden change of ſyſtem in Great Britain ſtopped entirely the influx of ſettlers into New England, the principles of the coloniſts coincided ſo perfectly with thoſe of the popular leaders in parliament, that they were ſoon diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of their brotherly affection. By a vote of the Houſe of Commons in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty two, the people in all the different plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon thoſe which they imported into the mother-country, until the Houſe ſhall take farther order to the contrary. This was afterwards confirmed by the authority of both Houſes. Encouraged by ſuch an extraordinary privilege, induſtry made rapid progreſs in all the diſtricts of New England, and population in-

1646.

[h] Hutchinſon, p. 91, 92.

creaſed

creaſed along with it. In return for thoſe favours, the coloniſts applauded the meaſures of parliament, celebrated its generous efforts to vindicate the rights and liberties of the nation, prayed for the ſucceſs of its arms, and framed regulations in order to prevent any exertion in favour of the King on the other ſide of the Atlantic[1].

RELYING on the indulgent partiality with which all their proceedings were viewed by men thus cloſely united with them in ſentiments and wiſhes, the people of New England ventured on a meaſure, which not only increaſed their ſecurity and power, but may be regarded as a conſiderable ſtep towards independence. Under the impreſſion or pretext of the danger to which they were expoſed from the ſurrounding tribes of Indians, the four colonies of Maſſachuſets, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offenſive and defenſive; an idea familiar to ſeveral leading men in the colonies, as it was framed in imitation of the famous bond of union among the Dutch provinces, in whoſe dominions the Browniſts had long reſided. It was ſtipulated, that the confederates ſhould henceforth be diſtinguiſhed

1643. May 19. Confederacy of the New England ſtates.

[1] Hutchinſon, p. 114. App. 517. Chalmers' Annals, i. 174. 176.

by

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by the name of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony ſhall remain ſeparate and diſtinct, and have excluſive juriſdiction within its own territory; and that in every war, offenſive or defenſive, each of the confederates ſhall furniſh his quota of men, proviſions, and money, at a rate to be fixed from time to time, in proportion to the number of people in each ſettlement; that an aſſembly compoſed of two commiſſioners from each colony ſhall be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide in all points of common concern to the confederacy; and every determination, in which ſix of their number concur, ſhall be binding on the whole[k]. In this tranſaction the colonies of New England ſeem to have conſidered themſelves as independent ſocieties, poſſeſſing all the rights of ſovereignty, and free from the control of any ſuperior power. The governing party in England, occupied with affairs of more urgent concern, and no wiſe diſpoſed to obſerve the conduct of their brethren in America with any jealous attention, ſuffered the meaſure to paſs without animadverſion.

EMBOLDENED by this connivance, the ſpirit of independence gathered ſtrength, and ſoon

[k] Neal's Hiſt. of N. Eng. i. 202, &c. Hutchinſon, p. 124. Chalmers' Ann. p. 177.

diſplayed

diſplayed itſelf more openly: ſome perſons of note in the colony of Maſſachuſets, averſe to the ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical polity eſtabliſhed there, and preferring to it the government and diſcipline of the churches of England or Scotland, having remonſtrated to the general court againſt the injuſtice of depriving them of their rights as freemen, and of their privileges as Chriſtians, becauſe they could not join as members with any of the congregational churches, petitioned that they might no longer be bound to obey laws to which they had not aſſented, nor be ſubjected to taxes impoſed by an aſſembly in which they were not repreſented. Their demands were not only rejected, but they were impriſoned and fined as diſturbers of the public peace; and when they appointed ſome of their number to lay their grievances before parliament, the annual court, in order to prevent this appeal to the ſupreme power, attempted firſt to ſeize their papers, and then to obſtruct their embarkation for England. But though neither of theſe could be accompliſhed, ſuch was the addreſs and influence of the colonies' agents in England, that no inquiry ſeems to have been made into this tranſaction[f]. This was followed by an in-

1646.

Petition of the Diſſenters rejected.

[f] Neal's Hiſt. of N. Eng. i. 121. Hutchinſon's Hiſt. 145, &c. Collect. 188, &c. Chalm. Ann. 179. Mather, Magnal. b. iii. ch. i. p. 30.

dication,

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dication, ſtill leſs ambiguous, of the aſpiring ſpirit prevalent among the people of Maſſachuſets. Under every form of government the right of coining money has been conſidered as a prerogative peculiar to ſovereignty, and which no ſubordinate member in any ſtate is entitled to claim. Regardleſs of this eſtabliſhed maxim, the general court ordered a coinage of ſilver money at Boſton, ſtamped with the name of the colony, and a tree as an apt ſymbol of its progreſſive vigour [m]. Even this uſurpation eſcaped without notice. The Independents, having now humbled all rival ſects, engroſſed the whole direction of affairs in Great Britain; and long accuſtomed to admire the government of New England, framed agreeably to thoſe principles which they had adopted as the moſt perfect model of civil and eccleſiaſtical polity, they were unwilling to ſtain its reputation, by cenſuring any part of its conduct.

1652. Right of coining aſſumed by the coloniſts.

When Cromwell uſurped the ſupreme power, the coloniſs of New England continued to ſtand as high in his eſtimation. As he had deeply imbibed all the fanatical notions of the Independents, and was perpetually ſurrounded by the

Cromwell patroniſes the New England colonies.

[m] Hutchinſon Hiſt. 177, 178. Chalmers' Annals, p. 181.

moſt

moſt eminent and artful teachers of that ſect, he kept a conſtant correſpondence with the leading men in the American ſettlements, who ſeem to have looked up to him as a zealous patron[n]. He in return conſidered them as his moſt devoted adherents, attached to him no leſs by affection than by principle. He ſoon gave a ſtriking proof of this. On the conqueſt of Jamaica, he formed a ſcheme for the ſecurity and improvement of the acquiſition made by his victorious arms, ſuited to the ardour of an impetuous ſpirit that delighted in accompliſhing its ends by extraordinary means. He propoſed to tranſport the people of New England to that iſland, and employed every argument calculated to make impreſſion upon them, in order to obtain their conſent. He endeavoured to rouſe their religious zeal by repreſenting what a fatal blow it would be to the man of ſin, if a colony of the faithful were ſettled in the midſt of his territories in the New World. He allured them with proſpects of immenſe wealth in a fertile region, which would reward the induſtry of thoſe who cultivated it, with all the precious productions of the torrid zone, and expreſſed his fervent wiſh that they might take poſſeſſion of it, in order

Propoſes to tranſport the coloniſts to Jamaica.

[n] Hutchinſon, App. 520, &c. Collect. p. 233.

BOOK X.

to fulfil God's promiſe of making his people the head and not the tail. He aſſured them of being ſupported by the whole force of his authority, and of veſting all the powers of government entirely in their hands. But by this time the coloniſts were attached to a country in which they had reſided for many years, and where, though they did not attain opulence, they enjoyed the comforts of life in great abundance; and they dreaded ſo much the noxious climate of the Weſt Indies, which had proved fatal to a great number of the Engliſh who firſt ſettled in Jamaica, that they declined, though in the moſt reſpectful terms, cloſing with the Protector's propoſition [o].

oloniſts cline cepting is offer.

[o] Hutchinſon, p. 190, &c. Chalmers, p. 188.

NOTE

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. 5.

P. TORRIBIO de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten cauſes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the Ten Plagues. Many of theſe are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the ſmall-pox. This diſeaſe was firſt brought into New Spain in the year 1520, by a negro-ſlave who attended Narvaez in his expedition againſt Cortes. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people in the provinces viſited with this diſtemper died. To this mortality, occaſioned by the ſmall-pox, Torquemada adds the deſtructive effects of two contagious diſtempers which raged in the year 1545 and 1576. In the former, 800,000, in the latter, above two millions periſhed, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The ſmall-pox was not introduced into Peru for ſeveral years after the invaſion of the Spaniards; but there too that diſtemper proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origen, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed or died of famine in their

war with the Spaniards, particularly during the ſiege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one ſide or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something ſimilar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous taſks impoſed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppreſſive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any proviſion made for their ſubſiſtence, and ſubjected to all the rigour of cold in thoſe elevated regions. 7. The immenſe labour of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged on with ſuch precipitate ardour, as deſtroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to ſervitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the ſilver mines. Theſe, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. The nature of the labour to which they were ſubjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldneſs of the climate, and ſcarcity of food, were ſo fatal, that Torribio affirms the country round ſeveral of thoſe mines, particularly near Guaxaco, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their ſtench, and ſo many vultures and other voracious birds hovered about for their prey, that the ſun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, deſtroyed many of the natives whom they compelled to

ſerve them as *Tamemes*, or carriers of burdens. This laſt mode of oppreſſion was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who periſhed in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the eaſt of the Andes, one may form ſome idea of what they ſuffered in ſimilar ſervices, and how faſt they were waſted by them. Torribio, MS. Corita, in his Breve y Summaria Relacion, illuſtrates and confirms ſeveral of Torribio's obſervations, to which he refers. MS. *penès me.*

NOTE II. p. 6.

EVEN Monteſquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c. 18. But the paſſion of that great man for ſyſtem ſometimes rendered him inattentive to reſearch; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in ſome inſtances, to overlook obvious and juſt cauſes.

NOTE III. p. 6.

A STRONG proof of this occurs in the teſtament of Iſabella, where ſhe diſcovers the moſt tender concern for the humane and mild uſage of the Indians. Thoſe laudable ſentiments of the Queen have been adopted into the public law of Spain, and ſerve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title *of the good treatment of the Indians.* Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.

NOTE IV. p. 9.

In the ſeventh *Title* of the firſt book of the *Recopilacion*, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbiſhops and biſhops, almoſt a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpoſe, in order to defend them from oppreſſion either with reſpect to their perſons or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honourable and humane office, but the eccleſiaſtics of America actually exerciſe it.

Innumerable proofs of this might be produced from Spaniſh authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not diſpoſed to aſcribe any merit to the popiſh clergy, to which they were not fully entitled. Survey, p. 142. 192, &c. Henry Hawks, an Engliſh merchant, who reſided five years in New Spain, previous to the year 1572, gives the ſame favourable account of the popiſh clergy. Hakluit, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. not only biſhops, but other eccleſiaſtics, are empowered to inform and admoniſh the civil magiſtrates, if any Indian is deprived of his juſt liberty and rights; Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley 14: and thus were conſtituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics refuſed to grant abſolution to ſuch of their countrymen as poſſeſſed *Encomiendas*, and conſidered the Indians as ſlaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil. Teatro Eccleſ. i. 157.

NOTE

NOTE V. p. 10.

ACCORDING to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families; and he mentions it only as one of the largeſt Indian towns in America, p. 104.

NOTE VI. p. 10.

IT is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the ſtate of population in thoſe kingdoms of Europe where the police is moſt perfect, and where ſcience has made the greateſt progreſs. In Spaniſh America, where knowledge is ſtill in its infancy, and few men have leiſure to engage in reſearches merely ſpeculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the ſeveral provinces in America, to make an actual ſurvey of the people under their juriſdiction, and to tranſmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In conſequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen-Clara, Viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Joſ. Antonio de Villa Segnor y Sanchez to execute that commiſſion in New Spain. From the reports of the magiſtrates in the ſeveral diſtricts, as well as from his own obſervations, and long acquaintance with moſt of the provinces, Villa Segnor publiſhed the reſult of his inquiries in his *Teatro Americano*. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceſes, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has publiſhed an account of five only, viz. the archbiſhopric of Mexico, the biſhoprics of Puebla de los

Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca, and Nova Galicia. The biſhoprics of Yucatan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his ſurvey of the extenſive dioceſe of Nova Gallicia, the ſituation of the different Indian villages is deſcribed, but he ſpecifies the number of people only in a ſmall part of it. The Indians of that extenſive province, in which the Spaniſh dominion is imperfectly eſtabliſhed, are not regiſtered with the ſame accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual ſtate of population in the five dioceſes above-mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and meſtizos, in the dioceſes of

	Families.
Mexico — — —	105,202
Los Angeles — — —	30,600
Mechoacan — — —	30,840
Oaxaca — — —	7,296
Nova Galicia — — —	16,770
	190,708
At the rate of five to a family, the total number is — — —	953,540
Indian families in the dioceſe of Mexico	119,511
Los Angeles — — —	88,240
Mechoacan — — —	36,196
Oaxaca — — —	44,222
Nova Galicia — — —	6,222
	294,391

At

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with greater certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or regiſter, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four dioceſes of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude, that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

THE account of the number of Spaniards, &c. ſeems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor obſerves in general terms, that ſeveral Spaniards, negroes, and people of mixed race, reſide there, without ſpecifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for theſe, and for all who reſide in the four dioceſes omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of thoſe of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In ſome places Villa Segnor diſtinguiſhes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, mulattoes, and meſtizos, and marks their number ſeparately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion obſervable in thoſe places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the ſtate of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifeſt that the number of negroes and perſons of a mixed race far exceeds that of Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

DEFECTIVE as this account may be, I have not been able to procure ſuch intelligence concerning the number of

of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally satisfying with respect to the degree of its population. I have been informed that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the vice-royalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the King. As all females, and persons under age, are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought by that account to be 2,449,120. MS. *penès me.*

I SHALL mention another mode, by which one may compute, or at least form a guess concerning, the state of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reason to consider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada exported to Peru on each new publication, is, 1,171,953; to New Spain, 2,649,326. I am informed, that but few Indians purchase bulls, and that they are sold chiefly to the Spanish inhabitants, and those of mixed race; so that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount by this mode of computation to at least three millions.

THE number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spanish America may give us some idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate but popular notion entertained in Great Britain concerning the weak and desolate state of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at least 150,000 people. It is remarkable that Torquemada, who wrote his *Monarquia Indiana* about the year 1612, reckons the inhabitants of Mexico at that time to be only 7000 Spaniards and 8000 Indians. Lib. iii. c. 26. Puebla

de

de los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,000, excluſive of Indians. Id. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. De Coſme Bueno Deſcr. de Peru, 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potoſi contains 25,600. Bueno 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a ſecond claſs are ſtill more numerous. The cities in the moſt thriving ſettlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with theſe.

SUCH are the detached accounts of the number of people in ſeveral towns, which I found ſcattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the public, both to gratify curioſity, and to rectify the miſtaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Franciſco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Beſides the city, there are in the *Corregimiento* 29 *curas* or pariſhes eſtabliſhed in the principal villages, each of which has ſmaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of theſe are moſtly Indians and Meſtizos. St. Juan de Paſto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, beſides 27 dependent villages. St. Miguel de Ibarra, 7000 citizens, and ten villages. The diſtrict of Havala between 18 and 20,000 people. The diſtrict of Tacuna between 10 and 12,000. The diſtrict of Ambato between 8 and 10,000, beſides 16 depending villages. The city of Riobamba between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and 9 depending villages. The diſtrict of Chimbo between

between 6 and 8000. The city of Guayaquil from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. The diſtrict of Atuaſi between 5 and 6000 inhabitants, and 4 depending villages. The city of Cuenza between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, and 9 populous depending villages. The town of Laxa from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. This degree of population, though ſlender if we conſider the vaſt extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly ſuppoſed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spaniſh America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton ſtuffs, and coarſe woollen cloths, are made there in ſuch quantities as to be ſufficient not only for the conſumption of the province, but to furniſh a conſiderable article for exportation into other parts of Spaniſh America. I know not whether the uncommon induſtry of this province ſhould be conſidered as the cauſe or the effect of its populouſneſs. But among the oſtentatious inhabitants of the New World, the paſſion for every thing that comes from Europe is ſo violent, that I am informed the manufactures of Quito are ſo much undervalued, as to be on the decline.

NOTE VII. p. 16.

These are eſtabliſhed at the following places: St. Domingo in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firmé, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santa Fé in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the country of Los Charcas, St. Franciſco de Quito, St. Jago

St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of theſe are ſubjected ſeveral large provinces, and ſome ſo far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their juriſdiction. The Spaniſh writers commonly reckon up twelve courts of Audience, but they include that of Manila in the Philippine Iſlands.

NOTE VIII. p. 25.

On account of the diſtance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of ſuch bulk as wine and oil acroſs the iſthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in thoſe provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives: but they are ſtrictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to any of the provinces on the Pacific Ocean, which are in ſuch a ſituation as to receive them from Spain. Recop. lib. i. tit. xvii. l. 15—18.

NOTE IX. p. 27.

This computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the diſcovery of America. Hiſt. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the ſpirit of a malcontent, diſpoſed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is probable that his calculation is conſiderably too low.

NOTE

NOTE X. p. 28.

My information with reſpect to the diviſion and tranſmiſſion of property in the Spaniſh colonies is imperfect. The Spaniſh authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended ſufficiently to the effects of their own inſtitutions and laws. Solorzano de Jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16. explains in ſome meaſure the introduction of the tenure of *Mayoraſgo*, and mentions ſome of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a ſingular conſequence of it. He obſerves, that in ſome of the beſt ſituations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houſes once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is held by right of *Mayoraſgo*, and cannot be alienated, that deſolation and thoſe ruins become perpetual. Theatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE XI. p. 31.

There is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or eccleſiaſtic. On the contrary, there are many *Cedulas* which recommend the conferring places of truſt indiſcriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancurt y Figueroa Derecho, &c. p. 5, 6. But notwithſtanding ſuch repeated recommendations, preferment in almoſt every line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author laſt quoted. From the diſcovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and ſixty nine biſhops, or archbiſhops, have been appointed to the

the different dioceſes in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40. This predilection for Europeans ſeems ſtill to continue. By a royal mandate, iſſued in 1776, the chapter of the cathedral of Mexico is directed to nominate European eccleſiaſtics of known merit and abilities, that the King may appoint them to ſupply vacant benefices. MS. *penès me.*

NOTE XII. p. 37.

MODERATE as this tribute may appear, ſuch is the extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppreſſive. Pegna Itiner. par Paroches de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE XIII. p. 38.

IN New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and ſervices of the firſt conquerors, as well as the ſmall revenue ariſing from the country previous to the diſcovery of the mines of Sacatecas, the *encomiendas* were granted for three, and ſometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

NOTE XIV. p. 40.

D. ANT. ULLOA contends, that working in mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Meſtizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themſelves as miners; and ſeveral of the Indians, when the legal term of

their ſervice expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. *Entreten.* p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholeſomeneſs of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any ſpecies of labour, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be. D. Hern. Carillo Altemirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, ſays he, the number of Indians decreaſes; but in the province of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has encreaſed more than a third ſince the conqueſt of America, though neither the ſoil nor climate be ſo favourable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert, Collect. In another memorial preſented to Philip III. in the year 1609, Captain Juan Gonzales de Azevedo aſſerts, that in every diſtrict of Peru, where the Indians are compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in ſome places to the third, of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE XV. p. 40.

As labour of this kind cannot be preſcribed with legal accuracy, the taſks ſeem to be in a great meaſure arbitrary, and like the ſervices exacted by feudal ſuperiors, *in vineâ, prato, aut meſſe*, from their vaſſals, are extremely burdenſome, and often wantonly oppreſſive. Pegna, Itiner. par Parochos de Indios.

NOTE

NOTE XVI. p. 41.

THE turn of ſervice known in Peru by the name of *Mita*, is called *Tanda* in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No perſon is called to ſerve at a greater diſtance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is leſs oppreſſive to the Indians than that eſtabliſhed in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

NOTE XVII. p. 44.

THE ſtrongeſt proof of this may be deduced from the laws themſelves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuſes, we may form an idea of the number of abuſes that prevail. Though the laws have wiſely provided that no Indian ſhall be obliged to ſerve in any mine at a greater diſtance from his place of reſidence than thirty miles; we are informed in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano preſented to the King, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to ſerve in mines at the diſtance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are ſituated in parts of the country ſo barren, and ſo diſtant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the neceſſity of procuring labourers to work there has obliged the Spaniſh monarchs to diſpenſe with their own regulations in ſeveral inſtances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to reſort to thoſe mines. Eſcalona Gazophyl. Perub.

lib. i. c. 16. But in juſtice to them it ſhould be obſerved that they have been ſtudious to alleviate this oppreſſion as much as poſſible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method, in order to induce the Indians to ſettle in ſome part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. ibid.

NOTE XVIII. p. 49.

TORQUEMADA, after a long enumeration which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monaſteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of monaſteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa Segnor. Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning thoſe for nuns, he ſays, that a ſmall town might be peopled out of them, the number of perſons ſhut up there is ſo great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III., in a letter to the viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, obſerves, that the number of convents in Lima was ſo great, that they covered more ground than all the reſt of the city. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The firſt monaſtery in New Spain was founded A. D. 1525, four years only after the conqueſt. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

ACCORDING to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete eſtabliſhment of the American church in all the Spaniſh ſettlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbiſhops, 32 biſhops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Eccleſiaſtico de las Ind. Occident. vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jeſuits was

was expelled from all the Spaniſh dominions, the colleges, *profeſſed* houſes, and reſidencies, which it poſſeſſed in the province of New Spain, were thirty, in Quito ſixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru ſeventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen; in all a hundred and twelve. Collection General de Providencias haſta aqui tomadas ſobre eſtranamento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of Jeſuits, prieſts, and novices in all theſe amounted to 2245. MS. *penès me.*

In the year 1644, the city of Mexico preſented a petition to the King, praying that no new monaſtery might be founded, and that the revenues of thoſe already eſtabliſhed might be circumſcribed, otherwiſe the religious houſes would ſoon acquire the property of the whole country. The petitioners requeſt likewiſe, that the biſhops might be laid under reſtrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above ſix thouſand clergymen without any living. Id. p. 16. Theſe abuſes muſt have been enormous indeed, when the ſuperſtition of American Spaniards was ſhocked, and induced to remonſtrate againſt them.

NOTE XIX. p. 53.

This deſcription of the manners of the Spaniſh clergy, I ſhould not have ventured to give upon the teſtimony of Proteſtant authors alone, as they may be ſuſpected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any Proteſtant to view the interior ſtate of Spaniſh America,

deſcribes the corruption of the church which he had forſaken with ſo much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I ſhould have diſtruſted his evidence, though it communicates ſome very curious and ſtriking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of eccleſiaſtics in America at a very early period after their ſettlement there. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 19, 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent obſerver, and zealous for his own religion, paints the diſſolute manners of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in ſtronger colours than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account. Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumſtances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reaſon to believe that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are ſtill extremely indecent. Acoſta himſelf acknowledges that great corruption of manners had been the conſequence of permitting monks to forſake the retirement and diſcipline of the cloiſter, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian pariſhes. De procur. Ind. Salute, lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly thoſe vices of which I have taken notice, and conſiders the temptations to them as ſo formidable, that he leans to the opinion of thoſe who hold that the regular clergy ſhould not be employed as pariſh prieſts. Lib. v. c. 20. Even the advocates for the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when ſet free from the reſtraint of monaſtic diſcipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought againſt them was not deſtitute of truth. In the French colonies the ſtate of the regular clergy

clergy is nearly the ſame as in the Spaniſh ſettlements, and the ſame conſequences have followed. M. Biet, ſuperior of the ſecular prieſts in Cayenne, inquires with no leſs appearance of piety than of candour, into the cauſes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the juriſdiction and cenſures of their dioceſans; to the temptations to which they are expoſed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable that all the authors, who cenſure the licentiouſneſs of the Spaniſh regulars with the greateſt ſeverity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jeſuits. Formed under a diſcipline more perfect than that of the other monaſtic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the ſociety, which takes ſuch full poſſeſſion of every member of the order, the Jeſuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintained a moſt irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil, i. 34. The ſame praiſe is likewiſe due to the biſhops and moſt of the dignified clergy. Frez. ibid.

A VOLUME of the Gazette de Mexico for the years 1728, 1729, 1730, having been communicated to me, I find there a ſtriking confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the ſpirit of low illiberal ſuperſtition prevalent in Spaniſh America. From the newſpapers of any nation, one may learn what are the objects which chiefly engroſs its attention, and which appear to it moſt intereſting. The Gazette of Mexico is filled almoſt entirely with accounts of religious functions, with deſcriptions of proceſſions, conſecrations of churches, beatifications of ſaints, feſtivals, autos de fè, &c. Civil or commercial affairs, and

even the tranſactions of Europe, occupy but a ſmall corner in this magazine of monthly intelligence. From the titles of new books, which are regularly inſerted in this Gazette, it appears that two-thirds of them are treatiſes of ſcholaſtic theology, or of monkiſh devotion.

NOTE XX. p. 54.

SOLORZANO, after mentioning the corrupt morals of ſome of the regular clergy, with that cautious reſerve which became a Spaniſh layman, in touching on a ſubject ſo delicate, gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmneſs, againſt committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the teſtimony of ſeveral reſpectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A ſtriking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Eſquilachè to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were preſented to the King by the procurators for the monaſtic orders, and replies were made to theſe in name of the ſecular clergy. An eager, and even rancorous ſpirit is manifeſt on both ſides, in the conduct of this diſpute.

NOTE XXI. p. 60.

NOT only the native Indians, but the *Meſtizos*, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the prieſthood, and refuſed admiſſion

into any religious order. But by a law iſſued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain ſuch Meſtizos born in lawful wedlock, as they ſhould find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monaſtery where they had gone through a regular noviciate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard ſeems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a repreſentation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he iſſued a new edict, enforcing the obſervation of it, and profeſſing his deſire to have all his ſubjects, Indians and Meſtizos as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the ſame privileges. Such, however, was the averſion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians, and their race, that this ſeems to have produced little effect; for, in the year 1725, Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But ſo unſurmountable are the hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the preſent King has been conſtrained to enforce the former edicts anew, by a law publiſhed Sept. 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. *penès me.*

M. CLAVIGERO has contradicted what I have related concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Indians, particularly their excluſion from the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, and from holy orders, either as Seculars or Regulars, in ſuch a manner as cannot fail to make a deep impreſſion. He, from his own knowledge, aſſerts, "that in New Spain not only are Indians permitted to partake of the ſacrament of the altar, but that Indian prieſts are ſo numerous that they may be counted by hundreds; and, among theſe have been

many hundreds of rectors, canons, and doctors, and, as report goes, even a very learned biſhop. At preſent there are many prieſts, and not a few rectors, among whom there have been three or four our own pupils." Vol. II. 348, &c. I owe it therefore as a duty to the public, as well as to myſelf, to conſider each of theſe points with care, and to explain the reaſons which induced me to adopt the opinion which I have publiſhed.

'I KNEW that in the Chriſtian church there is no diſtinction of perſons, but that men of every nation, who embrace the religion of Jeſus, are equally entitled to every Chriſtian privilege which they are qualified to receive. I knew likewiſe that an opinion prevailed, not only among moſt of the Spaniſh laity ſettled in America, but among "many eccleſiaſtics, (I uſe the words of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 15.) that the Indians were not perfect or rational men, and were not poſſeſſed of ſuch capacity as qualified them to partake of the ſacrament of the altar, or of any other benefit of our religion." It was againſt this opinion that Las Caſas contended with the laudable zeal which I have deſcribed in Books III. and VI. But as the Biſhop of Darien, Doctor Sepulvida, and other reſpectable eccleſiaſtics, vigorouſly ſupported the common opinion concerning the incapacity of the Indians, it became neceſſary, in order to determine the point, that the authority of the Holy See ſhould be interpoſed; and accordingly Paul III. iſſued a bull, A. D. 1537, in which, after condemning the opinion of thoſe who held that the Indians, as being on a level with brute beaſts, ſhould be reduced to ſervitude, he declares, that

that they were really men, and as ſuch were capable of embracing the Chriſtian religion, and participating of all its bleſſings. My account of this bull, notwithſtanding the cavils of M. Clavigero, muſt appear juſt to every perſon who takes the trouble of peruſing it; and my account is the ſame with that adopted by Torquemada, lib. xvi. c. 25., and by Garcia, Orig. p. 311. But even after this deciſion, ſo low did the Spaniards reſiding in America rate the capacity of the natives, that the firſt council of Lima (I call it by that name on the authority of the beſt Spaniſh authors) diſcountenanced the admiſſion of Indians to the holy communion. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20. In New Spain the excluſion of Indians from the ſacrament was ſtill more explicit. Ibid. After two centuries have elapſed, and notwithſtanding all the improvement that the Indians may be ſuppoſed to have derived from their intercourſe with the Spaniards during that period, we are informed by D. Ant. Ulloa, that in Peru, where, as will appear in the ſequel of this note, they are ſuppoſed to be better inſtructed than in New Spain, their ignorance is ſo prodigious that very few are permitted to communicate, as being altogether deſtitute of the requiſite capacity. Voy. I. 341, &c. Solorz. Polit. Ind. I. 203.

With reſpect to the excluſion of Indians from the prieſthood, either as Seculars, or Regulars, we may obſerve that while it continued to be the common opinion that the natives of America, on account of their incapacity, ſhould not be permitted to partake of the holy ſacrament, we cannot ſuppoſe that they would be clothed with that ſacred character which entitled

entitled them to conſecrate and to diſpenſe it. When Torquemada compoſed his *Monarquia Indiana*, it was almoſt a century after the conqueſt of New Spain; and yet in his time it was ſtill the general practice to exclude Indians from holy orders. Of this we have the moſt ſatisfying evidence. Torquemada having celebrated the virtues and graces of the Indians at great length, and with all the complacency of a miſſionary, he ſtarts as an objection to what he had aſſerted, "If the Indians really poſſeſs all the excellent qualities which you have deſcribed, why are they not permitted to aſſume the religious habit? Why are they not ordained prieſts and biſhops, as the Jewiſh and Gentile converts were in the primitive church, eſpecially as they might be employed with ſuch ſuperior advantage to other perſons in the inſtruction of their countrymen?" Lib. xvii. c. 13.

In anſwer to this objection, which eſtabliſhes, in the moſt unequivocal manner, what was the general practice at that period, Torquemada obſerves, that although by their natural diſpoſitions the Indians are well fitted for a ſubordinate ſituation, they are deſtitute of all the qualities requiſite in any ſtation of dignity and authority; and that they are in general ſo addicted to drunkenneſs, that, upon the ſlighteſt temptation, one cannot promiſe on their behaving with the decency ſuitable to the clerical character. The propriety of excluding them from it, on theſe accounts, was, he obſerved, ſo well juſtified by experience, that when a foreigner of great erudition, who came from Spain, condemned the practice of the Mexican church, he was convinced of his miſtake in a public diſputation.

tation with the learned and moſt religious Father D. Juan de Gaona, and his retraction is ſtill extant. Torquemada indeed acknowledges, as M. Clavigero obſerves, with a degree of exultation, that in his time ſome Indians had been admitted into monaſteries; but, with the art of a diſputant, he forgets to mention that Torquemada ſpecifies only two examples of this, and takes notice that in both inſtances thoſe Indians had been admitted by miſtake. Relying upon the authority of Torquemada with regard to New Spain, and of Ulloa with regard to Peru, and conſidering the humiliating depreſſion of the Indians in all the Spaniſh ſettlements, I concluded that they were not admitted into the eccleſiaſtical order, which is held in the higheſt veneration all over the New World.

But when M. Clavigero, upon his own knowledge, aſſerted facts ſo repugnant to the concluſion I had formed, I began to diſtruſt it, and to wiſh for farther information. In order to obtain this, I applied to a Spaniſh nobleman, high in office, and eminent for his abilities, who, on different occaſions, has permitted me to have the honour and benefit of correſponding with him. I have been favoured with the following anſwer: "What you have written concerning the admiſſion of Indians into holy orders, or into monaſteries, in Book VIII., eſpecially as it is explained and limited in Note LXXXVIII. of the quarto edition, is in general accurate, and conformable to the authorities which you quote. And although the congregation of the counſel reſolved and declared, Feb. 13. A. D. 1682, that the circumſtance of being an Indian, a mu-

a mulatto, or meſtizo, did not diſqualify any perſon from being admitted into holy orders, if he was poſſeſſed of what is required by the canons to entitle him to that privilege; this only proves ſuch ordinations to be legal and valid (of which Solorzano and the Spaniſh lawyers and hiſtorians quoted by him, Pol. Ind. lib. ii. c. 29. were perſuaded), but it neither proves the propriety of admitting Indians into Holy Orders, nor what was then the common practice, with reſpect to this; but, on the contrary, it ſhews that there was ſome doubt concerning the ordaining of Indians, and ſome repugnance to it.

"SINCE that time, there have been ſome examples of admitting Indians into holy orders. We have now at Madrid an aged prieſt, a native of Tlaſcala. His name is D. Juan Cerilo de Caſtilla Aquihual Catehutle, deſcended of a cazique converted to Chriſtianity ſoon after the conqueſt. He ſtudied the eccleſiaſtical ſciences in a ſeminary of Puebla de los Angeles. He was a candidate, nevertheleſs, for ten years, and it required much intereſt before Biſhop Abren would conſent to ordain him. This eccleſiaſtic is a man of unexceptionable character, modeſt, ſelf-denied, and with a competent knowledge of what relates to his clerical functions. He came to Madrid above thirty-four years ago, with the ſole view of ſoliciting admiſſion for the Indians into the colleges and ſeminaries in New Spain, that if, after being well inſtructed and tried, they ſhould find an inclination to enter into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, they might embrace it, and perform its functions with the greateſt benefit to their countrymen, whom they could addreſs in their native tongue."

tongue. He has obtained various regulations favourable to his ſcheme, particularly that the firſt college which became vacant in conſequence of the excluſion of the Jeſuits, ſhould be ſet apart for this purpoſe. But neither theſe regulations, nor any ſimilar ones inſerted in the laws of the Indies, have produced any effect, on account of objections and repreſentations from the greater part of perſons of chief conſideration employed in New Spain. Whether their oppoſition be well founded or not, is a problem difficult to reſolve, and towards the ſolution of which ſeveral diſtinctions and modifications are requiſite.

"ACCORDING to the accounts of this eccleſiaſtic, and the information of other perſons who have reſided in the Spaniſh dominions in America, you may reſt aſſured that in the kingdom Tierra Fermé no ſuch thing is known as either an Indian ſecular prieſt or monk; and that in New Spain there are very few eccleſiaſtics of Indian race. In Peru, perhaps, the number may be greater, as in that country there are more Indians who poſſeſs the means of acquiring ſuch a learned education as is neceſſary for perſons who aſpire to the clerical character."

NOTE XXII. p. 64.

UZTARIZ, an accurate and cautious calculator, ſeems to admit, that the quantity of ſilver which does not pay duty may be ſtated thus high. According to Herrera, there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potoſi that paid the King's fifth. Dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano aſſerts likewiſe,

that the quantity of ſilver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly ſtamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. Jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

NOTE XXIII. p. 68.

When the mines of Potoſi were diſcovered in the year 1545, the veins were ſo near the ſurface, that the ore was eaſily extracted, and ſo rich that it was refined with little trouble and at a ſmall expence, merely by the action of fire. This ſimple mode of refining by fuſion alone continued until the year 1574, when the uſe of mercury in refining ſilver, as well as gold, was diſcovered. Thoſe mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now ſunk ſo deep, that the expence of extracting the ore is greatly increaſed. Beſides this, the richneſs of the ore, contrary to what happens in moſt other mines, has become leſs as the vein continued to dip. The vein has likewiſe diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards ſhould perſiſt in working it. Other rich mines have been ſucceſſively diſcovered, but in general the value of the ores has decreaſed ſo much, while the expence of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain in the year 1736, reduced the duty payable to the King from a *fifth* to a *tenth*. All the quickſilver uſed in Peru is extracted from the famous mine of Guancabelica, diſcovered in the year 1563. The crown has reſerved the property of this mine to itſelf; and the perſons who purchaſe the quickſilver pay not only the price of it, but likewiſe a *fifth*, as a duty to the king. But, in the

the year 1761, this duty on quickſilver was aboliſhed, on account of the increaſe of expence in working mines. Ulloa, Entretenimientos, xii—xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. In conſequence of this abolition of the *fifth*, and ſome ſubſequent abatements of price, which became neceſſary on account of the increaſing expence of working mines, quickſilver, which was formerly ſold at eighty peſos the quintal, is now delivered by the King at the rate of ſixty peſos. Campomanes. Educ. Popul. ii. 132, note. The duty on gold is reduced to a *twentieth*, or five per cent. Any of my readers, who are deſirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate deſcription of the ancient method by Acoſta. Lib. iv. c. 1—13. And of their more recent improvements in the matullurgic art, by Gamboa Comment. a las ordenanz. de minas, c. 22.

NOTE XXIV. p. 72.

MANY remarkable proofs occur of the advanced ſtate of induſtry in Spain at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was conſiderable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The cauſes of this I have explained, Hiſt. of Cha. V. i. 158. Wherever cities are populous, that ſpecies of induſtry which is peculiar to them increaſes, artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade in giving activity to theſe is manifeſt, from a ſingular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain

Spain continued to depend on its own induſtry for the ſupply of its colonies, ſo much work was beſpoke from the manufacturers, that it was ſuppoſed they could hardly finiſh it in leſs than ſix years. Campom. i. 406. Such a demand muſt have put much induſtry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in ſilk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 perſons had occupation in carrying on theſe manufactures. Campom. ii. 472. But ſo rapid and pernicious was the operation of the cauſes which I ſhall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign, the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

SINCE the publication of the firſt edition, I have the ſatisfaction to find my ideas concerning the early commercial intercourſe between Spain and her colonies confirmed and illuſtrated by D. Bernardo Ward, of the Junta de Comercio at Madrid, in his *Proyecto Economico*, Part. ii. c. 1. "Under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II." ſays he, "the manufacturers of Spain and of the Low Countries ſubject to her dominion were in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate. Thoſe of France and England were in their infancy. The republic of the United Provinces did not then exiſt. No European power but Spain had colonies of any value in the New World. Spain could ſupply her ſettlements there with the productions of her own ſoil, the fabrics wrought by the hands of her own artizans, and all ſhe received in return for theſe, belonged

belonged to herſelf alone. Then the excluſion of foreign manufactures was proper, becauſe it might be rendered effectual. Then Spain might lay heavy duties upon goods exported to America, or imported from it, and might impoſe what reſtraints ſhe deemed proper upon a commerce entirely in her own hands. But when time and ſucceſſive revolutions had occaſioned an alteration in all thoſe circumſtances, when the manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were ſupplied by foreign fabrics, the original maxims and regulations of Spain ſhould have been accommodated to the change in her ſituation. The policy that was wiſe at one period became abſurd in the other."

NOTE XXV. p. 82.

No bale of goods is ever opened, no cheſt of treaſure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the perſons to whom they belong; and only one inſtance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined ſilver that was brought from Peru to Porto-bello in the year 1654 was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of baſe metal. The Spaniſh merchants, with ſentiments ſuitable to their uſual integrity, ſuſtained the whole loſs, and indemnified the foreigners by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treaſurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa Retabliſ. de Manuf. &c. liv. ii. p. 102.

NOTE XXVI. p. 87.

MANY ſtriking proofs occur of the ſcarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immenſe ſums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention, Moncada aſſerts, that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of *peſos*, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Reſtaur. de Eſpagna, diſc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who publiſhed his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain an hundred million. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonſtrance from the community of merchants in Toledo to Philip III. relates, as a certain proof how ſcarce caſh had become, that perſons who lent money received a third part of the ſum which they advanced as intereſt and premium. Educ. Popul. i. 417.

NOTE XXVII. p. 91.

THE account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Aſſiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, preſident of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Don Dionyſio was a perſon of ſuch reſpectable character

for

for probity and diſcernment, that his teſtimony in any point would be of much weight; but greater credit is due to it in this caſe, as he was an eye-witneſs of the tranſactions which he relates, and was often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he deſcribes. It is probable, however, that his repreſentation, being compoſed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in ſome inſtances, diſcover a portion of the acrimonious ſpirit natural at that juncture. His detail of facts is curious; and even Engliſh authors confirm it in ſome degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practiſed in the tranſactions of the annual ſhip, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other Britiſh colonies, was become enormouſly great. But for the credit of the Engliſh nation it may be obſerved, that thoſe fraudulent operations are not to be conſidered as deeds of the company, but as the diſhonourable arts of their factors and agents. The company itſelf ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the Aſſiento trade. Many of its ſervants acquired immenſe fortunes. Anderſon Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE XXVIII. p. 99.

SEVERAL facts with reſpect to the inſtitution, the progreſs, and the effects of this company, are curious, and but little known to Engliſh readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four hundred miles along the coaſt, and

is one of the moſt fertile in America; it was ſo much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the eſtabliſhment of the company, only five ſhips ſailed from Spain to that province; and during ſixteen years, from 1706 to 1722, not a ſingle ſhip arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Campania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain muſt have been ſupplied almoſt entirely with a large quantity of cacao, which it conſumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company, neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Id. p. 117. Since the commercial operations of the company, begun in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain has increaſed amazingly. During thirty years ſubſequent to 1701, the number of *Fanegas* of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas, was 643,215. During eighteen years ſubſequent to 1731, the number of *Fanegas* imported was 869,247; and if we ſuppoſe the importation to be continued in the ſame proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 *Fanegas*, which is an increaſe of 805,531 *Fanegas*. Id. p. 148. During eight years ſubſequent to 1756, there has been imported into Spain by the company 88,482 *arrobas* (each twenty-five pounds) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. Id. 161. Since the publication of the Noticias de Campania, in 1765, its trade ſeems to be on the increaſe. During five years ſubſequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156 *Fanegas* of cacao into Spain, 36,208 arrobas of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 peſos in ſpecie. Campomanes, ii. 162. The

laſt article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives caſh from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it ſupplies that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchaſing European goods. But, beſides this, the moſt explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacao raiſed in the province is double to what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live ſtock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the biſhop, which ariſes wholly from tithes, has increaſed from eight to twenty thouſand peſos. Notic. p. 69. In conſequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreaſed from eighty peſos for the *Fanega* to forty. Id. 61. Since the publication of the firſt edition, I have learned that Guyana, including all the extenſive provinces ſituated on the banks of the Orinoco, the iſlands of Trinidad and Margarita are added to the countries with which the company of Caraccas had liberty of trade by their former charters. Real Cedula, Nov. 19, 1776. But I have likewiſe been informed, that the inſtitution of this company has not been attended with all the beneficial effects which I have aſcribed to it. In many of its operations the illiberal and oppreſſive ſpirit of monopoly is ſtill conſpicuous. But in order to explain this, it would be neceſſary to enter into minute details, which are not ſuited to the nature of this work.

NOTE XXIX. p. 106.

THIS firſt experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects ſo remarkable, as to merit ſome farther illuſtration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andaluſia; Alicant and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelonia, for Catalona and Arragon; Santander, for Caſtile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Aſturias. Append. ii. à la Educ. Popul. p. 41. Theſe are either the ports of chief trade in their reſpective diſtricts, or thoſe moſt conveniently ſituated for the exportation of their reſpective productions. The following facts give a view of the increaſe of trade in the ſettlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the cuſtom-houſe at the Havannah were computed to be 104,208 peſos annually. During the five years preceding 1774, they roſe at a medium to 308,000 peſos a year. In Yucatan, the duties have ariſen from 8000 to 15,000. In Hiſpaniola, from 2500 to 5600. In Porto Rico, from 1200 to 7000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 peſos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

NOTE

NOTE XXX. p. 114.

THE two treatiſes of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, *Fiſcal del real conſejo y Supremo* (an office in rank and power nearly ſimiliar to that of Attorney-General in England), and Director of the Royal Academy of Hiſtory, the one entitled Diſcurſo ſobre el Fomento de la Induſtria Popular; the other Diſcurſo ſobre la Educacion Popular de los Arteſanos y ſu Fomento; the former publiſhed in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a ſtriking proof of this. Almoſt every point of importance with reſpect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domeſtic as well as foreign, is examined in the courſe of theſe works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations moſt eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with a more thorough knowledge of thoſe various ſubjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm reſearches of philoſophy, with the ardent zeal of a public-ſpirited citizen. Theſe books are in high eſtimation among the Spaniards; and it is a deciſive evidence of the progreſs of their own ideas, that they are capable of reliſhing an author whoſe ſentiments are ſo liberal.

NOTE XXXI. p. 119.

THE galeon employed in that trade, inſtead of the ſix hundred tons, to which it is limited by law, Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15. is commonly from twelve hundred to two thouſand tons burden. The ſhip from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anſon, inſtead of the 500,000 peſos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 peſos, beſides uncoined ſilver equal in value to 43,611 peſos more. Anſon's Voyage, 384.

NOTE XXXII. p. 122.

THE price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different perſons. Thoſe in the loweſt order who are ſervants or ſlaves, pay two reals of plate, or one ſhilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and thoſe in public office, or who hold encomiendas, ſixteen reals. Solorz. de Jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an Engliſh merchant who reſided long in the Spaniſh ſettlements, the bull of Cruzado bore an higher price in the year 1576, being then ſold for four reals at the loweſt. Hakluyt, iii. 461. The price ſeems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls iſſued in the laſt *Predicacion* will appear from the enſuing table, which will give ſome idea of the proportional numbers of the different claſſes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There

There were iſſued for New Spain,

Bulls at 10 peſos each - - -	4
at 2 peſos each - -	22,601
at 1 peſo each - -	164,220
at 2 reals each - -	2,462,500
	2,649,325

For Peru,

at 16 peſos 4½ reals each - -	3
at 3 peſos 3 reals each -	14,202
at 1 peſo 5½ reals - -	78,822
at 4 reals - - -	410,325
at 3 reals - - -	668,601
	1,171,953

NOTE XXXIII. p. 123.

As Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information contained in his Theatro Americano, publiſhed in Mexico, A. D. 1746, was accomptant-general in one of the moſt conſiderable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had acceſs to proper information, his teſtimony with reſpect to this point merits great credit. No ſuch accurate detail of the Spaniſh revenues in any part of America has hitherto been publiſhed in the Engliſh language; and the particulars of it may appear curious and intereſting to ſome of my readers.

From the bull of Cruzado, publiſhed every two years, there ariſes an annual revenue in peſos,	150,000
From the duty on ſilver - -	700,000
From the duty on gold - - -	60,000
From tax on cards - - -	70,000
From tax on Pulque, a drink uſed by the Indians - - -	161,000
From tax on ſtamped paper - -	41,000
From ditto on ice - - -	15,522
From ditto on leather - - -	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder - -	71,550
From ditto on ſalt - - -	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechochan -	1,000
From ditto on alum - - -	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los gallos -	21,100
From the half of eccleſiaſtical annats -	49,000
From royal ninths of biſhopricks, &c. -	68,800
From the tribute of Indians - -	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on ſale of goods	721,875
From the Almajorifaſgo, cuſtom-houſe -	373,333
From the mint - - - - -	357,500
	3,552,680

This ſum amounts to 819,161*l.* ſterling; and if we add to it the profit accruing from the ſale of 5000 quintals of quickſilver, imported from the mines of Almaden, in Spain, on the King's account, and what accrues from the *Averia*, and ſome other taxes which Villa Segnor does not eſtimate, the public revenue in New Spain may well be reckoned above a million pounds ſterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, &c.

According

According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines amounts at a medium to eight millions of peſos in ſilver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold. Id. p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the courſe of the hiſtory; ſome, which there was no occaſion of mentioning, require a particular illuſtration. The right to the *tithes* in the New World is veſted in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: one fourth is allotted to the biſhop of the dioceſe, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of theſe, under the denomination of *los dos Novenos reales*, are paid to the crown, and conſtitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other ſeven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and ſupport of churches, and other pious uſes. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley. 23, &c. Avendano Theſaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

THE *Alcavala* is a duty levied by an exciſe on the ſale of goods. In Spain it amounts to ten per cent. In America to four per cent. Solorzano. Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

THE *Almajorifaſgo*, or cuſtom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley. 1. Avendano, vol. i. 188.

THE *Averia*, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ſhips ſailing to and from America, was firſt

impoſed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition to the South Sea. It amounts to two per cent. on the value of goods. Avendano, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley. 43, 44.

I HAVE not been able to procure any accurate detail of the ſeveral branches of revenue in Peru, later than the year 1614. From a curious manuſcript, containing a ſtate of that viceroyalty in all its departments, preſented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros, by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accomptant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes ſtates his accounts, amounted in ducats at 4s. 11d. to - - - 2,372,768

Expences of government - -	1,242,992
Net free revenue	1,129,776
The total in ſterling money -	£583,303
Expences of government - -	305,568
Net free revenue	277,735

BUT ſeveral articles appear to be omitted in this computation, ſuch as the duty on ſtamped paper, leather, eccleſiaſtical annats, &c., ſo that the revenue of Peru may be well ſuppoſed equal to that of Mexico.

IN computing the expence of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a ſtandard. There-

the

the annual eſtabliſhment for defraying the charge of adminiſtration exceeds one-half of the revenue collected, and there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing it to be leſs in New Spain.

I HAVE obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two laſt articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Exciſe) and Aduanas (Cuſtoms), &c. in peſos fuertes - - -	2,500,000
Duties on gold and ſilver -	3,000,000
Bull of Cruzado - -	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians - -	2,000,000
By ſale of quickſilver - -	300,000
Paper exorted on the King's account, and ſold in the royal warehouſes - -	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other ſmall duties - -	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark - - -	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coaſting trade from province to province - - -	500,000
Aſſiento of negroes - -	200,000
From the trade of *Mathe*, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jeſuits	500,000

From

From other revenues formerly belonging to that order - -	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Total in ſterling money	£2,700,000
Deduct half, at the expence of adminiſtration, and there remains net free revenue - -	£1,350,000

NOTE XXXIV. p. 123.

An author, long converſant in commercial ſpeculation, has computed, that from the mines of New Spain alone, the King receives annually, as his fifth, the ſum of two millions of our money. Harris, Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines muſt be ten millions ſterling; a ſum ſo exorbitant, and ſo little correſponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded muſt evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of peſos, which, at four ſhillings and ſixpence a peſo, amounts to 7,425,000*l.* ſterling, the King's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000*l.* But from this ſum muſt be deducted what is loſt by a fraudulent withholding of the fifth due to the crown, as well as the ſum neceſſary for defraying the expence of adminiſtration. Educ. Popular. vol. ii. p. 131. note. Both theſe ſums are conſiderable.

NOTE

NOTE XXXV. p. 124.

ACCORDING to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As moſt of the goods with which Spain ſupplies her colonies are foreign, ſuch a tax upon a trade ſo extenſive muſt yield a conſiderable revenue. Retabliſ. de Manuf. & du Commerce d'Eſp. p. 150. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America to be about two millions and a half ſterling. p. 97.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 126.

THE Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of ſalt, and by embarking deeply in the Manilla trade, as well as in that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchaſe from the Condé Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was ſucceſsful in his ſuit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the uſual time.

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